

075063

JPRS-EPS-84-013

27 JANUARY 1984

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

19980810 115

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release:
Distribution Unlimited

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

5
127
A07

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

27 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Budapest Amplifies Criticism of Bucharest
(NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG, 25/26 Dec 83)..... 1

ALBANIA

- Stalin Honored as 'Faithful Pupil of Lenin'
(ZERI I POPULLIT, 21 Dec 83)..... 4
- Shortage of Stethoscopes for Medical Students Deplored
(Zana Sota; ZERI I POPULLIT, 16 Dec 83)..... 5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Details Provided on New Self-Propelled Artillery Gun
(Wilfried Kopenhagen; BERLINGER ZEITUNG, 19-20 Nov 83).... 7
- Ethnic Minority Broadcasts Expanded, Enriched
(Ludwig Kahle; NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE, No 11, Nov 83)..... 10

HUNGARY

- Significant Changes Call for More Open Political Culture
(NEPSZABADSAG, 6 Nov 83)..... 12
- Abuse of Party Jargon, Euphemism Scored
(Istvan Koner; NEPSZABADSAG, 17 Dec 83)..... 19
- Churches' Representatives Visit Raba Factory
(REFORMATUSOK LAPJA, 18 Dec 83)..... 22

Dissident Publisher Gets 6 Months' Suspended Sentence (NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG, 24 Dec 83).....	24
POLAND	
Katowice Paper Outlines BBC 'Propaganda' (Remigiusz Jakubowski; TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, 12 Dec 83).....	26
New Regulations on State, Official Secrets Analyzed (Barbara Kunicka-Michalska; PANSTWO I PRAWO, No 11, Nov 83).....	30
Provincial Reports-Elections Campaigns Reported (Various sources, 24-27 Nov 83).....	44
Campaign Strengthens Party Ranks Plants, City-Gmina Campaign Conferences Campaign at Gdansk Electronic Works Objective Criticism, Increased Activity	
Provincial Reports-Elections Campaign Reported (29, 30 Nov, 1 Dec 83).....	52
Municipal, Gmina, Plant Conferences Gdansk Campaign Opole Ending Campaign, by Andrzej Szatan Criticism, Optimism in Campaign	
Provincial Party Activities Reported (Various sources, 3-4 Dec 83).....	60
Party Reports-Elections Campaign, by Krystyna Wojtylak- Radwaniecka Party Conferences of Local Echelons Party Campaign Sincerity, Jozef Bogdanowicz Interview Successive Party Campaign Stages, Marian Rauszer Interview	
Daily Reveals Corruption in Medicine (Jerzy Wojtczak; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, No 238, 2-4 Dec 83).....	73
Discussion Panel Analyzes Social Awareness (NOWE DROGI, No 10, Oct 83).....	78
ROMANIA	
Corruption in Arad Food Trade Network Exposed, Punished (Graziela Vantu; ROMANIA LIBERA, 12 Dec 83).....	116
Members of State Quality Control Inspectorate (BULETINUL OFICIAL, No 88, 7 Nov 83).....	118

BUDAPEST AMPLIFIES CRITICISM OF BUCHAREST

Zurich NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG in German 25/26 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by R.St., datelined Vienna in December: "Hungary's Position in the Question of Minorities"]

[Text] For a long time, official Hungary has acted with the greatest circumspection in treating the question of minorities. Authors who expressed the widespread uneasiness felt by the population with regard to the situation of Hungarians in Transylvania--if it did not happen to be national poet Gyula Illies who died this Spring--skirted the limits of what was permissible. Although state and party shared the widespread opinion that Hungarians in Romania were badly off compared to Hungarians in Hungary, the authorities reserved to themselves ways and means how to approach this bad state of affairs. It was said that quiet diplomacy could bring better results than spectacular articles.

Ilie Ceausescu's High Opinion of Romania

Budapest, which pays greater attention to the mood of its people than the other Warsaw pact countries, seems to be taking a more decisive line. It is occasioned by the emphatically nationalist tone of the Romanian press on the 65th anniversary of Transylvania's unification with the old Romanian rules. In this question so painful for Hungary, Dr. Ilie Ceausescu, a brother of the President, writes, for example, that all inhabitants of Transylvania imbued with a sense of justice had fought for the region's unification with Romania.

Hungary, of which Transylvania had previously been a part, must have read with gnashing teeth the following sentence which demonstrates a healthy sense of self-worth: "In the spirit of the sentiments of high and traditional humanity which has always characterized Romanians, the Romanians did not look for revenge, but instead warmly offered their hand to other nationalities who have lived for centuries in the hospitable region of Transylvania." Ilie Ceausescu also justified the march of Romanian troops on Budapest in the summer of 1919 as an action to prevent a new partition of Romania. The same view is expressed by another Romanian author, Mircea Pop, and--of all places--in the latest edition of the Hungarian language magazine UTUNK published in Transylvania. He claims that Romanians in their entire history have never waged wars of conquest, only wars of defense and liberation.

The Hungarian magazine UJ TUKOR counters this by stating that the march of royal Romanian troops on Budapest in 1919 had aided in the destruction of Bela Kuns' government of commissars. Romanian communists could be as little proud of this fact as of Romania's participation, under Marshal Antonescu, in Hitler's campaign against the Soviet Union. The UJ TUKOR article is full of biting remarks about alleged Romanian imperialism at the time of the monarchy, about basic counterrevolutionary attitudes with which contemporary Romanian authors defend a policy inimical to minorities. The accusation of chauvinism is quite openly made.

In the Manner of Feudal Lords

Zsigmond Pal Pach, Vice President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in a conversation with the party newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, deals with the phenomenon of nationalism in a more reflective, but no less determined manner. He accuses the Romanians of having employed the methods of former Hungarian feudal lords after 1918 in order to suppress classes and nationalities in the regions which had become Romanian. After 1945, Budapest had believed that because of the embrace of socialism, the question of nationalities would be solved automatically, as it were. Today, one is more realistic and aware that the building of socialism would for some time to come take place within a national framework and that the problem of minorities could not be solved then and there. However, the revival of the latter must not be accepted silently. Pach's hint is clear: present-day Romanian leadership is being told that, in its policy towards nationalities, it is acting no differently from that Hungarian feudal system which was fought by Bucharest, and which is being denounced today.

Why Only Against Romania?

It is striking that these official Hungarian statements concentrate their attacks on Romania. The fact is, Magyars live in all of Hungary's neighboring countries. There are more than 3 million of them, and practically each and every member of the Hungarian minority has relatives in the mother country. With the exception of the minority living in Austria, of which there are only a few thousand, all Hungarian minorities have reservations vis-à-vis the respective national majority. In the autonomous Yugoslav province of Wojwodina, Hungarians have started to resist exaggerated nationalist tendencies of the Serbs which surfaced following the difficulties Serbia has had with Kosovo, the other autonomous province in its territory. Serbian journalists accused the Hungarians in Yugoslavia of having remained passive in the partisan struggle. There has been no official reply from Budapest to date.

Of course, the more than 400,000 Hungarians in Yugoslavia have it relatively easy, at least compared to the more than 600,000 living in Slovakia, whose fate differs positively in only one respect from that of their confrères in Transylvania: that is, the economic situation in Slovakia is generally better than in Romania. After the latest meeting between party chiefs Husak and Kadar, the communique spoke of a minority policy on a Leninist basis, which means that Kadar brought the subject up in discussion.

However, so far nothing has been heard about charges in Slovakia. Official Budapest has never taken a stand on the situation of Hungarians in the Soviet Carpatho-Ukraine. Experts familiar with that situation believe that the Magyars there would gladly trade with those in Transylvania.

9917

CSO: 2300/209

STALIN HONORED AS 'FAITHFUL PUPIL OF LENIN'

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 21 Dec 83 p 1

[Albanian Telegraph Agency article: "The 104th Birthday of J.V. Stalin Is Commemorated"]

[Text] To commemorate the 104th birthday of J.V. Stalin, great Marxist-Leninist, faithful pupil and worthy continuer of the immortal work of V.I. Lenin, political-social and cultural-artistic activities were organized in various parts of the country, with the participation of thousands of workers in work and production centers, institutions and agricultural units, soldiers, pupils from schools, etc.

In the "V.I. Lenin-J.V. Stalin" Museum in Tirana there have been many visitors recently, participating in discussions on such topics as "Stalin--a determined fighter against opportunism and revisionism of all hues," "Stalin--a close friend of the Albanian people," etc. Similar discussions have been carried on with workers from the "Enver Hoxha" autotractor combine, with students from the military schools, and from the University of Tirana, and pupils from secondary and eight-year schools. The documentary film "J.V. Stalin" was shown to the visitors. In the "Stalin" textile combine, there were also discussions about the life and glorious work of Stalin and a photo exhibit on his activities was opened in the factory.

In Stalin City, petroleum workers and other workers attended, with interest, the discussions on the topics: "Stalin lives in our hearts" and "The image of Stalin in the book by Enver Hoxha 'Me Stalinin-kujtime' (With Stalin-Memoirs)." Wreaths were placed on his monument in the center of the city. There were discussions and photo exhibits in the agricultural cooperative in Poshnje which bears his name.

A lecture entitled: "The brilliant contribution of Stalin to the protection and creative development of Marxism-Leninism" was presented for workers in the "J.V. Stalin" hydroelectric power plant in Bistrica, in Sarande District, and the photo exhibit "Stalin and Albania" was opened. Wreaths were placed at his bust in the center of the power plant. Discussions were also organized in the "J.V. Stalin" agricultural cooperative in Qeparo in Vlore District.

In the house of culture and popular creativity in Shkoder City, there was a discussion of the life and immortal work of Stalin and theatrical performances dedicated to his brilliant image were presented. In the "Stalin" cooperative in Koplik, discussions were held on the topic: "The name and life of Stalin will live through the centuries."

SHORTAGE OF STETHOSCOPES FOR MEDICAL STUDENTS DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 16 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Zana Sota: "Students Want Stethoscopes, not Official Letters."]

[Text] Medical students complete their studies without having used a stethoscope, a basic instrument of the practice of medicine. Although this problem is viewed theoretically, actually no one has tried to find a solution.

Here is something which is amazing and which raises a number of questions: many medical students who, beginning in their 3d year, put their education into practice in taking care of the sick independently, do not have their main tool, the stethoscope.

Why has this problem gone unsolved for years?

We had discussions in the faculty of medicine, in the planning branch of the university, in the ministries of education and of health. Some years ago the electromedical factory took over the production of stethoscopes. This is what we were told:

Viron Xhillari, assistant dean of the faculty of medicine, said: "During this time the factory never satisfied our needs. An inadequate supply was produced and the quality was so poor that one could say with justification that "you could hear better with your ears than with those stethoscopes." We raised this issue many times because there is a great shortage."

Niko Llaci, supply and distribution specialist in the Ministry of Education said: "When requests were made to us we approved them. Now we are hearing that there is a great concern about stethoscopes. The rector's office did not inform us; otherwise we would have followed up the matter and might have planned to import stethoscopes. Someone should have told us how many articles were to be supplied so that we could have monitored the situation earlier."

In the planning branch of the university we were told that they had approved requests when they received them. Actually no one was interested in whether or not students had stethoscopes. The 100 stethoscopes finally produced this

year have not yet reached their destination. The comrades in the planning branch in the rector's office had so little knowledge about the matter that they said that the 100 stethoscopes reposing in the depository had not yet been produced. (Yesterday they informed the editorial staff that they were going to fetch them. But the quality of these stethoscopes is not yet known.)

Jorko Qirjako, from the planning directorate in the Ministry of Health, told us: "We in the ministry do not have any state duty to provide students with stethoscopes." Thus, the problem is viewed quite narrowly. But should not this ministry take steps in regard to the quality of the training of our future doctors? Then we will not mention the fact that many young doctors who are under the jurisdiction of this ministry do not have stethoscopes.

Thus, everyone is "covered." The shortage of stethoscopes is observed and the poor quality of their production in the electromedical plant is also observed. It astonishes all of them and they even think that it is an unallowable situation.

CSO: 2100/21

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DETAILS PROVIDED ON NEW SELF-PROPELLED ARTILLERY GUN

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 19-20 Nov 83 p 13

[Military Equipment] feature by Wilfried Kopenhagen: "Modern Artillery on Heavy Tracks: 152 mm Self-Propelled Mount with a 360 Degree Rotatable Turret"]

[Text] The review of motorized parade troops on the national holiday in Berlin included a formation of 152-mm self-propelled mounts. The crew of each of these armored combat vehicles, which weigh 27.5 tons and measure 7.77 meters in length, 3.25 meters in width and 2.62 meters in height, consists of a driver, a gun commander, a gunner and a loader. Its 382 kW engine provides the SFL [Selbstfahrlafette (self-propelled mount)] with a maximum road cruising speed of 62 km/hour. At that speed, its range is 500 km. The following data illustrate its terrain crossing capabilities: the SFL can go across trenches of up to 3 meters in width and climb over 0.7 meter high obstacles. The angle of inclines can be as steep as 30 degrees and it can ford bodies of water which are up to 1 meter deep.

To the layman, this combat vehicle with its tracks, front-wheel drive and its road wheels and track support rollers looks like a tank. This impression is further enhanced by the 360-degree rotatable turret and the heavy armament, consisting of a 152-mm howitzer and a 7.62 -mm PKT machinegun.

Let us briefly reflect on World War II, during which the USSR defense industry amassed considerable experience in the construction of self-propelled mounts. During that period, 22,513 SFLs emerged from factories in various parts of the country. The medium and heavy SFLs were particularly successful in destroying enemy tanks and fortifications. Of the eight versions of the basic model, two carried a 152-mm weapon, one a 37-mm antiaircraft gun. After the war, USSR manufacturers produced two different SFLs for airborne troops, several for antiaircraft use which were equipped with guns or antiaircraft missiles, and some bearing tactical or operationally tactical missiles.

A few years ago two entirely new Soviet artillery SFLs came out; one amphibious with a 122-mm howitzer one with a 152-mm howitzer. The NVA [National People's Army] showed this 152-mm SFL, described above, for the first time in the 7 October 1979 parade. Both SFL models have undergone some basic changes over the wartime Soviet SFLs. The most notable feature, apart from

the change from rear-wheel to front-wheel drive, is the fully enclosed and rotatable turret. Earlier artillery SFL models had a rigid, partly open turret and they were almost twice as heavy. They only permitted manual rotation of the cannon by a maximum of 20 degrees. This meant that any target lying outside that rotation angle could only be aimed at by changing the position of the entire vehicle. Since weapon systems of this type are used as fixed firing positions whenever possible and are placed in earth excavations, the modern SFL has the tactical advantage of being able to fire at targets at any angle without having to change position and thereby becoming a big target itself. The relatively light-weight construction with rotatable turret is possible because barrel recoil is strongly diminished by a very effective barrel recoil brake and other design elements, thus providing stability to the vehicle even when firing at right angles to its long axis like tank.

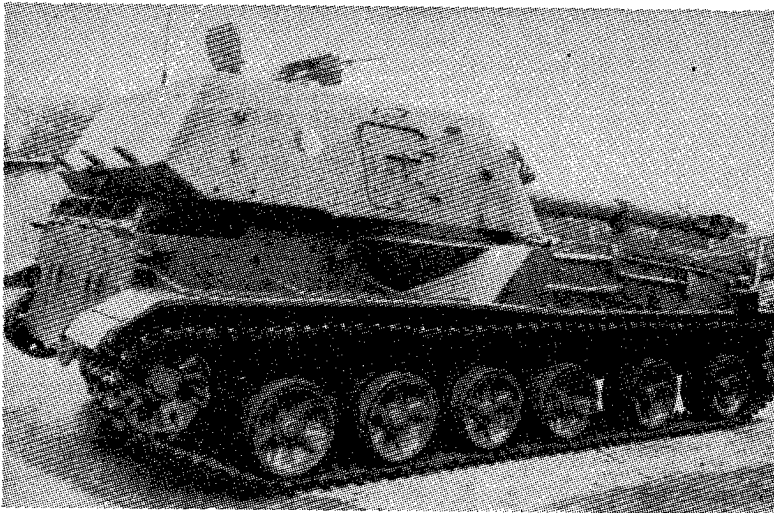
The ejector, recognizable as a thickening of the barrel behind the large muzzle brake, protects the crew inside the crew compartment from exposure to concentrated firing gases. In indirect gunlaying, targets at distances of up to 17,300 meters can be reached. In that case, the crew fires under the direction of the fire control. But the SFL can fire also by direct gunlaying, i.e., when targets are visible, such as enemy tanks which have managed to penetrate.

The barrel can be elevated at angles ranging from -4 degrees to +60 degrees. Average firing speed is 3 shells per minute. Each SFL carries 46 shells. Resupply of ammunition is provided by a supply vehicle and takes place through a small porthole in the rear.

It is certainly interesting that the Soviet experts, as they have done in many other cases, have managed to combine a proven weapon system and a proven combat vehicle into a new weapon, the 152-mm SFL. The 152-mm weapon has been in existence for some time, known as the D-20 towed cannon-howitzer on a single-axle mount; the vehicle has been known, in a slightly different version, in conjunction with the twin antiaircraft missile, which was shown to the public for the first time in 1967. This tracked undercarriage permits the artillery SFL to take an active part in the battle formations of the tanks as well as the motorized infantry and to be constantly ready for action. This is not the case with the D-20 152-mm cannon-howitzer, towed by the Tatra 813 truck: there the crew must dismount prior to firing; must disconnect the weapon from the tow truck, position it, unload the ammunition from the truck--in short, engage in a number of activities not necessary with the SFL, since everything is contained inside the combat vehicle. In addition, the crew inside the SFL is protected against shrapnel and the effects of enemy use of weapons of mass destruction. It has modern instruments for target identification and, in case of need, can use the heavy machinegun in the tower to defend itself.

The improvements in self-propelled mounts have in turn caused some qualitative changes to occur in the artillery. The same caliber weapon has become more mobile and ready for action. This is generally true also for the 122-mm SFL, whose armament is identical with the D-30 towed 122-mm howitzer, while its amphibious undercarriage is derived from the MT-LB artillery tractor.

This technological progress obviously engenders greater demands on the crews. Thus the four artillery soldiers of an SFL crew must not only be fully competent in the operation of the weapon system; they must also take care of repair and maintenance. The driver and the loader are responsible for the engine, transmission, track and suspension and for protective gear, while the gun commander and the gunner are required to maintain the crew compartment, the gun, the machinegun, the optical system and the radio. The necessary training for these functions is given to the driver and the gun commander in the noncommissioned officers' training school. In the field they gain additional experience and in turn train the gunners to the point where they are able to perform their portion of the operation in a conscientious and speedy fashion.



152-mm Self-Propelled Mount

9273

CSO: 2300/206

ETHNIC MINORITY BROADCASTS EXPANDED, ENRICHED

East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE in German Vol 37 No 11, Nov 83 (signed to press 11 Oct 83) p 15

/Article by Ludwig Kahle, editorial staff member of Radio GDR--Cottbus Station: "Sorbian Editorial Staff Offers Many New Programs"/

/Text/ The Sorbian editorial staff of GDR Radio--Cottbus Station--endeavors to constantly improve, widen its range and offer better quality in satisfying the wishes and expectations of its listeners in the bilingual southeast of the GDR. Especially this year they had resolved to do some things, since it was the 35th anniversary of the promulgation of the "law on the observance of the rights of the Sorbian population" and the 30th year of radio broadcasts in the Sorbian language. Deliberations focused on the question how to shape more relevant and listener-related broadcasts, how more skillfully to use the technical benefits of radio, its immediacy, so that people will listen to us with interest and to their benefit? Many ideas were expressed. For example, a listener's suggestion that the series "Bautzen--original" (personalities answer listeners' questions at noon on Sundays--a live broadcast) give priority to a current political issue. That suggestion has already been adopted, and yet there should be enough time left for the many other question. A similar example is the live broadcast "reporters from radio and NOWY CASNIK ask deputy...." Here also listeners (and readers of the Lower Sorbian weekly) have an opportunity to obtain firsthand responses.

Still, the main effort at improvement was devoted to the topicality of daily broadcasts. The establishment of a correspondent's office in the House of the Sorbians in Bautzen was one of the prerequisites that aroused much attention. Without any loss of time or even originating the item, our local editor, reporter and announcer provide the latest news from the center of Sorbian cultural life as contributions and moderator discussions to the "Topical Magazine" of Sunday broadcasts, or news bulletins in daily transmissions. A complete weekday broadcast comes directly from Bautzen.

Recently included in the program--in accordance with listener wishes--was the "one minute of Sorbian." It helps Sorbian working people find new words and terms for contemporary things, problems and projects. This is an objective of inestimable importance for the further development of our mother tongue.

The highpoint of our anniversary year, though, was to be a live broadcast lasting 90 minutes, this time originating in Wittichenau and, by way of a subsidiary conference, from Spohla community (part of the Wittichenau community association). We found partners in the district council, the Domowina kreis association and, above all, among local groups. Together we planned the broadcast that joined as speakers (among others) the chairman of the National Front city committee, the mayor of Spohla and both chairmen of the Domowina local groups. The history and economic importance of the city and the community associations, cultural activities--in short remarkable and surprising fact--were the main topics. Even we were amazed how much there was to be discovered. Of course the broadcast also transmitted Sorb melodies presented by a school choir and, eventually, everybody joined in the songs.

At night the seventh radio concert of Sorb music represented the conclusion and climax of the listeners' conference. Offered were art music, folklore, children's songs and Sorb dance music. The audience of 500 applauded sincerely. This has encouraged us to plan similar broadcasting projects for 1984 also, in close contact with many hundreds of listeners. Our steadily improving technical facilities virtually obligate us to proceed.

Since last January, Sunday Sorb transmissions are carried once a month by medium wave on two VHF transmitters. We are now creating the prerequisites for Sorb programs soon to be transmitted every Sunday via VHF and, largely, in stereophonic sound. This was the wish of Sorb farmers, miners, teachers, artists and many others who wrote to the radio station, a wish also expressed at the last federal congress of the Domowina. Agreeing in principle, the management of Radio GDR expressed the hope that we will do something with this opportunity, using foresight and journalistic skill. We will!

11698

CSO: 2300/202

SIGNIFICANT CHANGES CALL FOR MORE OPEN POLITICAL CULTURE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Nov 83 p 9

[Roundtable discussion with Sandor Boros, Istvan Huszar, Lajos Mori, Gyula Papp and Denes Maros: "About Political Culture"; passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics]

[Text] Political erudition and political culture are often-mentioned concepts. We refer to them primarily in connection with the way they are utilized in everyday practice, how necessary they are if we wish to orient ourselves in our complicated world, if we want to exercise our democratic rights as beneficiaries and creators of the social processes. The following participated in the discussion sponsored by the editors: Sandor Boros, deputy department head of the Central Committee, Istvan Huszar, member of the Central Committee and director-general of the Institute of Social Sciences, Lajos Mori, secretary of the enterprise trade union committee of the Lenin Metallurgical Works, and Gyula Papp, president of the city council of Szeged. The editors were represented by Denes Maros.

Observations Gained Through Experiencing History

[Question] NEPSZABADSAG: What are we to understand as political culture? The clarification of the term is warranted because it is often used imprecisely, for example, as meaning some sort of qualification or political educational level, whereas it obviously means more than that.

[Answer] I. Huszar: During the past 5-6 years, "political culture" has become a fashionable expression. Domestic authors and foreign politicians, and both socialist and non-socialist countries attribute the most diverse meanings to these two words. It is not easy to provide an unambiguous definition. Nevertheless, I will attempt to interpret the meaning of the concept: Political culture /is the conduct developed on the basis of observations of experienced history which represents society or one of its classes or strata in such a way that it shows its relationship/--intellectual, emotional and active--/to social and all political processes./ Therefore, I do not equate it with political erudition. What do I mean by the observations of experienced history? Not merely the ancient and recent past, but also that which we live through in the present. The historical experiences of the present influence political culture;

however, the sum of older historical traditions and observations influence the present processes. Political culture changes; it does not have the same content beginning from time immemorial, but we must add that its transformation is relatively slow. It is impossible to significantly change a people's political culture with intermittent educational activities, but it is possible to affect it. /Political culture is a component of political consciousness, but it is not identical to it./ "Culture", in combined word forms, expresses quality--we refer to work culture and behavior culture when we are not using "culture" in the sense of learning but rather as a qualitative characteristic. Thus, political culture is the qualitative characteristic of our social activity.

S. Boros: I fully agree with Istvan Huszar and I am pleased that we are approaching the question in this spirit. Political culture is an indispensable component of political activity--as indispensable as the political institutional system, political rights, etc. However, political ideals, political principles, the concepts residing in individuals, emotions, sympathies and antipathies are all present in political consciousness. The political values which determine the individual's political actions are important. In addition to a knowledge of political processes, certain practical aptitudes also belong to political culture, for examples, skills such as communication and articulateness.

G. Papp: While I accept the definition, I would like to emphasize that political culture remains on a low level until such time as it becomes a form of conduct. Political culture and political erudition exist theoretically until they are transformed into action.

L. Mori: In preparation for this discussion, I asked my friends and colleagues what they understood by this concept. The majority, in order to characterize their own political education and culture, described the political school they attended, i.e., they really interpret the concept more narrowly than defined here. I too believe that people's intellectual, emotional and action readiness are also embodied in political culture. Political consciousness which mirrors reality and the public activities which are based on this mean that the decisions may and must be founded on the community.

[Question] NEPSZABADSAG: Despite the identity between truth and historical experience, we observe differences in thought and behavior. That is, the individual approaches the facts from his own perspective. Thus, the difference is obviously not accidental. What is the explanation for this, and what are the sources of political culture?

[Answer] S. Boros: Naturally, without knowledge, there is not any sort of political culture. We are not talking about general knowledge. In order to understand social processes, one must also possess civic and political knowledge. It is certain that due to tradition, various conducts and values could be perceived in the political culture of present-day Hungarian society which developed historically. What factors influence the formation of political culture and learning? Above all, they are affected by real political processes. This experience is enriched by training, propaganda and information.

I. Huszar: What is the explanation for the difference? Society is always

structured. It is structured on the basis of age, place of residence, the position occupied in the division of labor, education, employment relations, etc. Social processes always embody values, and individuals and social groups try to recognize their interests in them. That is, social processes are simultaneously evaluative processes. Socialist society is also a structured society. The relationship of the individual and group to the actual processes is influenced by many kinds of factors. If we want to politicize well in the interests of our goals, we must count on the divergence of interests. /Political culture is also characterized by patience/ and understanding which aid the building of socialist society to come into existence from the differences and to be raised to the level of a national program.

L. Mori: For example, in the metallurgical plant we observe that people consciously participate in politics. For example, we have been struggling with production and sales problems. As the workers assume a share in the solution of our problems, as the collective works, a conscious participation in politics exists. The interests are the determinants. Preparation is necessary for the identification of interests and the search for a solution; the decisive factors are the receptivity of the people and the reaction of their immediate surroundings.

Significant Changes

[Question] NEPSZABADSAG: It is possible to observe two, seemingly contradictory interpretations of political education and political culture. One is that the political knowledge of citizens has been increased and enriched, and increasingly more of them participate in public affairs. The second, critical conclusion holds that agitation and propaganda work must be strengthened and ideological activities must be improved so that we can keep pace with the development of society, that no open and unresolved questions remain and that all will assume a share of the solution of our tasks with preparation and conviction. What is the reason for this "dual" interpretation?

[Answer] G. Papp: The criticism essentially urges qualitative change. Statistics confirm that 1.5-2 million people take part in party, KISZ and trade union instruction. We have provided much in terms of political knowledge, and enormous intellectual energy has been accumulated. As an example, let me point out how informed the workers and the physical laborers are who speak on the radio and television and are able to express their opinions in, for the most part, good Hungarian. Where we have to move forward is in making this accumulated knowledge become action on the aggregate social level, thus, /so that the individual participate in public affairs more often and consciously./ Historical experiences have been mentioned. Hungarian history of this century developed in such a way that political activities often caused the individual harm. Masses participated in politics in 1919 and it was followed by the White Terror. They engaged in politics after the liberation and its dangers could be experienced in the beginning of the 1950s. Only the past quarter century --which even historically measured is a significant period--convinced the masses that they could have a role in the formation of politics and that participation in politics serves their interests.

L. Mori: An important change is that the world has opened up. The metal worker, for example, watches television at night and sees what the state of the market is. He places the difficulties of his workplace in this context. He lives in an atmosphere of political trust. Here practically no one questions whether socialism is the society he wants. /They are committed to the socialist society; they are protective of and call to account the political values of this society/. This year's plan was completed in the first days of January. After a well prepared debate, the stewards' council accepted it with the conviction that we can extricate ourselves from a difficult position. They understood and agreed that the earlier planning system could not produce results and that now value planning and possibility planning influenced by the circumstances are justified. We were able to convince the members of the board by including suggestions from their areas of work. We worked out the strategy of the enterprise and mobilized the people for it. Work-related tensions appear extremely quickly at the trade union forums. The extent to which our suggestions and answers are accepted is represented by the fact that our organization has hardly changed, although more than 10,000 people left us during the past 10 years, our economic opportunities have contracted and the state of metallurgy today is worse than 5 or 8 years ago. But we have not lost their confidence.

S. Boros: During the past decade, interest in politics and public affairs have truly developed a great deal. We are living in the phase of qualitative change in political culture. The party has more than 800,000 members. The setting for public affairs activities are the trade unions, youth organizations and the cooperatives. I do not claim that all the members of these organizations are active, but without doubt their interest has grown. Enormous progress has occurred in the understanding and evaluation of economic processes. People are concerned with what happens in the workplaces and in the country. They are concerned with what they can do for our interests so that things develop to our benefit and not our harm.

I. Huszar: I believe that the fundamental issue is the intensification of social effort in all areas. Allow me to cite the "philosophy" of our economic management system. Every issue should be decided where the necessary information exists, and where the responsibility for the decision and its implementation also exist. Without the recognition of this and without its practical implementation, political culture cannot develop. It is not possible to develop political culture merely with curricula and lectures; /it is necessary to have a social practice which convinces people of the practicality and correctness of the policy/. It is impossible to form good social structures without absorbing the rich knowledge coming to light and the experiences of the masses.

Preparing Decisions

[Question] NEPSZABADSAG: Even from the foregoing, it is apparent that political culture is not merely an accumulation of knowledge, but is instead a manifestation of behavior, deeds and activity. What opportunities does society and the political institutional system offer for public activity and to what extent does it demand participation in politics?

[Answer] L. Mori: During the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, a fundamental change took place in the trade union movement and the organizational system. The earlier multitiered system was replaced by the expansion of the decision-making jurisdiction of the trade union stewards and the stewards' council. But the trade unions have also changed their method of operation. A stewards' council with an appropriate sphere of authority works on a partnerly basis alongside the economic director with decision-making jurisdiction. It is also an essential issue that trade union officials must objectively evaluate opportunities in the workplace. It is not easy, for example, to have the fact accepted that experienced skilled workers must be reassigned from one sphere of operation to another. To change after 10-15 years of experience, occasionally for less pay...

G. Papp: We stated that the masses understood and supported the policy of the party. The question is this: What are the "proving grounds" like? Are there forums where people are able to engage in politics on a social level and are able to gain political experience? If the thesis is true that in our society the people are not just spectators and recipients of policy but also its creators, the more important questions must be debated before decisions are made. On the national level, our party often utilizes the general debate before making decisions. For 4 years, our practice on the council was to debate every more important question of city policy on the public forum, naturally before arriving at a decision. For example, if the tasks of transportation or of business are brought up at the council meeting, we "confront", as we say, the people with the proposal. We receive 100-200 suggestions per topic. As an example of how informal these forums are, I might mention the ordinance concerning the keeping of animals we debated in the spring; the council returned the proposal twice because it needed modification. The council also did not immediately accept the report on the work of the IKV [Communal Management Enterprise]. That is, each council resolution is voted on twice--at the public forum and at the council meeting. /Nevertheless, I say that the political institutional system does not nearly meet the demands./ The 1971 law on councils regulated the operation of the councils and formulated their system of self-government. But we are still far from having reached the point where the councils themselves decide on fundamental questions--on the basis of suitable regulations. Nor is it a problem of insufficient funds. The people understand our economic concerns. But the councils may allocate 70-80 percent of the funds they receive for centrally directed purposes. We should delegate certain decisions to the local councils. Without much risk, I believe that 80-90 percent of the central and local decisions would be in agreement. /Why shouldn't we assume a 10-20 percent risk?/ Let the council decide whether it wants to build a school or a hospital...

I. Huszar: This certain measure of risk would also provide the possibility of proper social correction...

S. Boros: In the post-revolutionary period, Lenin alluded to the fact that only those social changes were truly effected and made a reality which the people internalized, the ones which passed over into everyday life. The people's political culture is largely influenced by the character of the political institutional system, its operation, everyday practice, and the observations which could be gained there and the opportunities for action which

open up--even if for no other reason than that this reconfirms that it is worth expanding their political knowledge. If someone in the council or trade union is unable to fulfill the obligations he accepted and is unable to represent the interests of the workers well, he obviously needs to learn and gather information. We must confront the real weaknesses of our institutional system. The April resolution of the Central Committee also cautions us that despite every effort to develop democracy, we still have not reached the desired level. When we talk about the efficient operation of our political institutional system, we must also mention the activities of the party. The internal functioning of the party must also be further developed and must be adapted to changing circumstances.

I. Huszar: The operational mechanism of the political institutional system is very faintly reminiscent of what it was 10-15 years ago. A radical change in economic policy is that there are no planning directives. But I wonder whether the ideological and conscious consequences of our economic policy have been eluted out. The new style, the new notion is not at all widespread; if you wish, it is in its birth or about to come into being. I am by no means satisfied with the pace of development, but I am satisfied with its direction. We are also encountering unusual difficulties on the enterprise and societal level which subject us to a rather large test of strength.

Personal Conditions

[Question] NEPSZABADSAG: We have arrived at the question--already mentioned in part--as to what the tasks of the individual and those of society are in enriching political culture and raising it to a higher level.

[Answer] I. Huszar: In the interests of enriching political culture, obviously everyone, the individual and also the leading forces of the society must make intellectual efforts to become acquainted with social processes and clarify their relationships to them. It has become increasingly clear what the responsibility is on each level and what the decision-making jurisdiction is. Significant changes have taken place in political practice. We still have not ascertained the consequences of these in ideology, and in agitation and propaganda work. A new feature of our political practice is that we also openly disclose the contradictions lurking in the decisions. The uncertainty factor in the real development of society is not the uncertainty of the position taken. The wisdom of political direction will be attested to if it considers all the possible alternatives everywhere--even in factory, council and community institutions. This still is not pragmatism, but rather proof that we are thinking in the realm of reality and reckon with the realities. We are implementing a policy which takes into consideration the natural processes of life and which analyzes and evaluates the laws of reality. We did not take a single step that diverged from our socialist system of thought. When /we formulate a program for action which takes into consideration experience and real processes, we do not diverge from but rather adhere to the principles of Marxist politics.

L. Mori: The development of political culture is a movement which to a certain extent has its own set of rules and is also in part directed by the party. It is not without interest to mention that this also has personal conditions. I

am thinking of the conduct, style and example of the leader. At every level, let the leader be the one who demands and uses the democratic style. Political and cadre training has preeminent significance in the selection and cultivation of those individuals who are able to adopt this new style. And within the institutional system, we must develop checkpoints which signal divergence from the desired methods. I see the essence of the new election law or that the trade union shop stewards' council is able to qualify the enterprise management as this type of control.

S. Boros: There is also a need for renewing political instruction. I do not want to mention numbers, because I consider quality and not quantity to be important. In speaking about party instruction, the success of the past years is demonstrated by the fact that the party membership understands the economic processes, the social changes, and its conduct is such that it contributes to the maintenance of political stability. Of course, I cannot claim that political instruction satisfactorily meets every present-day requirement. It is not easy to keep pace with the changes; we must free ourselves of the formal elements. In addition to preserving the ideological level, propaganda must get closer to local problems and must provide answers to what interests the people. Its content /must become more closely connected to contemporary socioeconomic and political processes./ We must reach the point where more and more people make a conscious effort towards the development of political culture and the enrichment of their own political education. This is also an indispensable precondition for the communists to take a stand with conviction, to debate and to represent the party's standpoint.

9956

CS0: 2500/79

ABUSE OF PARTY JARGON, EUPHEMISM SCORED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Istvan Koner: "Style: A Talk Not Just Among Ourselves"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Secretary and Friend:

You seemed to be offended, am I right, when inspite of my best intentions I could not help you in what you asked from me? And now, as I publicly criticize you in an article, I am afraid I am going to rouse your bitter anger against me. Believe me, I am very sorry, it is not you whom I wanted to hurt.

A month ago you gave me the written report of your Party leadership requesting me to "redraft it" somewhat, to weed out the Party jargon from it and to eliminate the words and expressions that distort our dear mother tongue. True, in a productive enterprise, like yours, the language, the style is not the most important thing, but nevertheless you did not like to expose your report to criticism. I welcomed your request and your desire for improvement. If a party leadership cares about the clarity and conciseness of its report, if it does not consider style an "intellectual luxury," we can only be happy about it.

I read the report immediately twice with great attention. And I realized that I alone cannot correct it, only with your help. For in vain I would exchange certain words and locutions for better ones. This would not make the entire text more acceptable. I am unable to "restyle" your sentences alone, they ought to be rewritten. However I cannot do this since I do not understand what you meant to say, to communicate by them. And go to hell--I told myself--excuse me, please, but you can so simply and lucidly express yourself when we only "talk" about politics. But as soon as you don the mantle of a Party secretary, your style becomes pompous and "official" so that I do not understand a word. And I am afraid that those who you are working with every day in the same factory, and who will be seated in front of you when you are going to read your report, will have only a vague and murky idea of what you are telling them.

Thus, next day I went to see you and we beamed together over your sheets of paper in a joint effort to recast the text from line to line. I do not want to quote it entirely, we did not reach the end of it anyway, I would like to recall only a few "beautiful" sentences of your work: "Our Party organizations have contributed continuously to the work which helps dealing with the solution of the problems of efficiency of the economic activities." Nice euphemism for the catastrophic situation of your enterprise. For, what you are producing costs more than its possible sales price. The cause: the product is obsolete, its quality is poor, its cost (materials, energy, labor) excessive. The deep-seated causes of these deficiencies are: lack of proper organization and poor leadership. The managers are waiting for the plums to fall in their mouths. These are your words, my friend! And this is what your text conceals: "Help dealing with the solution of the problems of economic efficiency." Very delicate phrasing indeed. Those who should solve the problems but do not solve them, and are only "dealing" with them, will not be offended by your "critical" text. And what does it mean: "the party organizations contributed to the work that helps dealing with the problem." In other words we cannot say that they helped it, nor that they did it "continuously." As a matter of fact they have never done it. I understand you, my friend. The great "nothing" cannot be couched in terms that make it appear a reality.

"The great majority of our party membership participates with an exemplary zeal in our productive work," the text continues, and I was glad that this will be easy to spell out more clearly: they are working in an exemplary way. But you dashed my ardor. Simply they are working, you said, or even better: they are participating in the work. Yet of course this would be awkward to emphasize in the text. "The exemplary zeal" should remain in the report since, although the personnel is decreasing continuously, and many people go to work elsewhere for more money, the "great majority" of let us simply say "the majority" of the members of our old staff keep their loyalty to the enterprise. They stand firm. You are right, this is something after all.

I also learned that organizational life in your company "generally" abides by the rules set forth by the by-laws. According to the by-laws the assembly meetings of the member ought to be held bimonthly. Yet in your enterprise the basic organizations have met only four or five times during the year. Is this the meaning of the term "generally?" And "in a few of our basic organizations the activity of the members has been unsatisfactory." Only three basic organizations are supervised by your party leadership; the aforementioned remark seems to cover all three, they are "a few" indeed. Many members have not attended the meetings, very few have taken the floor. This is what you call "unsatisfactory activity."

My attention was drawn also to the sentence that in your enterprise "preventive work should be increased in case of certain comrades for a better compliance with the moral norms. "You told me confidentially that everybody will understand this. People are already commenting on the suspicious business dealings of a department director, yet nobody dares speak up. In other words there is really a need to "increase the preventive work."

I do not want to continue. Anyway we stopped the "restyling." You had a fit and waved under my nose a bunch of newspapers. "Are these better perhaps?" you asked.

Your report was ultimately read without any change. The world did not go down. Yet I think that in both of us a feeling of discomfort has remained. We have trouble with the style. Not with the style of the texts, that is only an upshot, but with the style of working.

With comradely greetings yours.

12312

CSO: 2500/138

CHURCHES' REPRESENTATIVES VISIT RABA FACTORY

Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 18 Dec 83 p 3

[Article: "Visit of Clerics to the Raba Factory"]

[Text] Last spring at our informative county rally General Manager of Raba Hungarian Carriage and Machine Factory Ede Horvath delivered a lecture of great resonance. He enthralled us as a workoholic, producer of world-famous goods and results, and one of the outstanding personalities of our homeland's industry and economy. In view of the great interest, Mr Horvath invited then the Catholic priests and Protestant pastors of Gyor-Sopron county for a personal visit to his factory. The turn of this visit came now and we became witnesses of some surprisingly new creations in that gigantic factory. It was a test of our great interest that two crowded buses transported the more than 100 Catholic and Protestant clerics from the headquarters of the City Council where we had gathered at the premises.

The tour of the Raba factory was attended by Istvan Bako (department director of the State Office of Church Affairs), Antal Horvath (HSWP secretary for Church affairs), the county secretariat of the Patriotic People's Front), Dr Andras Szennay (chief-abbot of Pannonhalma); on behalf of the Diocese of Gyor: Dr Laszlo Bona (pro-vicar), Dr Ferenc Benkovich, (office director), the supervisors and theology professors of the diocesan seminary, and the leaders of our brother churches, Gyula Barany evangelical and Andras Saho reformed deans. On behalf of our movement Abbot-Canon Jozsef Horvath (vice-president) and Provost Geza Horvath (county secretary) attended, while the lay press was represented by Bela Imre, editor of the MTI [Hungarian Telegraphic Agency] and of the paper KISALFOLD.

The large delegation was received in the name of management by Laszlo Ivan, director of development and his leading collaborators in the cultural hall of the giant factory. It sounded almost novelistic as the history of the enterprise came to life before us. For, already between 1896 and 1904, i.e little after its foundation, this Hungarian factory delivered carriages for Europe's first subway system in London, while providing approximately 1,000 railway carriages for our domestic network. During World War II unfortunately the factory had to make a contribution to destruction rather than life, in cooperation with the German Krupp firm. Bombardment and latter the shipping of the machines to Germany caused

great damages. Sixty-five percent of the buildings and 75 percent of the equipment were lost. But slowly also this plant recovered from its wounds, started to develop with great dynamism, and enthusiastic young professionals have scored outstanding achievements. After absorbing a series of minor plants in the city of Gyor, the enterprise under the name of Raba-Tool-Carriage and Machine Factory evolved into a world-famous firm, which successfully cooperates with the European Diesel-Man and even with some American firms. The production profile of Raba is primarily public transportation vehicles but it has manufactured also traction machines, like the famous Raba-Steiger tractors. In addition to this line of products, Raba manufactures also machine-tools.

The prestige, authority and the products of this factory are well known all over the world, and even the World Bank supports it financially. From 1967 to 1978 Raba has extended its network of subsidiaries all over the Transdanubian area. In addition to Gyor it has plants at Kapuvar, Sarvar, Mosonmagyaróvár, Szombathely, Pápa, and also the Red Star factory in Budapest belongs to it. It works and produces primarily for export. It has been able to hold its ground in today's cruel economic world competition. Thus 70 percent of the 1984 production is already sold out.

This powerful factory giant has 19,000 employees, 9,000 of whom are working in Gyor. For the growth of such a mammoth enterprise large premises and financial means are of course necessary. Credit has always been available to its managers since they have been reliable and amortized their debts. Insofar as land is concerned, Raba purchased the former civilian airport area of Gyor and built on it its own casting and processing plants and assembly halls of immense dimensions. We walked through the largest ones, 68,000 and 73,000 square meter areas of working places, bright, clean and spacious halls, realms indeed of modern wonders. Heating, ventilation, garbage collection and disposals are hidden underground, one sees only the workers in white gowns. Such a large community has, as a matter of course, its own social, cultural and health institutions. The meals are taken by the workers in shifts in such espresso-like rooms that could fit into the Váci-street in Budapest. Each worker has his own refrigerator slot and seat, and thus they can eat their breakfast in civilized circumstances. The average wage is the highest in Hungary: 63,000 forint per capita per year. In such an environment, under such civilized and socially advantageous circumstances people can cope with their disciplined and demanding pace of work.

Almost dazzled by our many imposing and grandiose impressions, we left with enthusiasm and just as the clerics, we noted: work is man's lot and God's blessing and the results are concomitant. Heartfelt thanks to the factory management and to the Patriotic People's Front for his extraordinary experience.

12312

CSO: 2500/138

DISSIDENT PUBLISHER GETS 6 MONTHS' SUSPENDED SENTENCE

Zurich NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG in German 24 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by R.St., datelined Vienna 22 Dec: "Sentencing of Hungarian Samizdat Publisher; Political Motives in the Gabor Demszky 'Case'"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 30-year-old sociologist Gabor Demszky had to stand trial in a Budapest court for use of force against officials. He was given a suspended 6-month prison term. Demszky had become known as the publisher of the Samizdat Publishing Company AB. In this capacity he published not only writings by dissidents such as Gyorgy Konrad and Vaclac Havel, but also, for example, by Mahatma Gandhi and Hungarian poets previously unknown.

What cannot be guessed from the above-mentioned charge is the fact that essentially it was not a simple confrontation between a citizen and the police, but a camouflaged political trial, the first for a long time in Hungary. Since the penalty could have been as high as 3 years, the sentence by the trial court can be considered lenient. But having the trial at all was considered a sign of the deterioration of the climate by Budapest intellectual circles.

A Harsher Wind

After visiting his friend Laszlo Rajk--son of the executed foreign minister who was later rehabilitated--, who is also part of the "Democratic Opposition," Demszky and his car were checked by the police at a control point. According to his own testimony confirmed by several witnesses, it only came to blows at the point where one of the policemen took a private letter from him and started to read from it aloud. When Demszky tried to resist this, he was beaten to the ground with nightsticks and suffered concussion and contusions, according to the report by the hospital where he was taken.

In different circumstances, one could have imagined a reprimand for the police who exceeded their authority. For a while it seemed as if the prosecutor's office--probably because of such considerations--would refrain from preferring charges. Incidentally, it must also be pointed out that representatives

of the "Democratic Opposition" in Budapest run exceptionally frequently into "traffic controls," especially if it is suspected that their cars might carry illegal printed matter. In addition, those in opposition do not attribute their cars' pierced or slashed tires to any real actions of some underground gangs, but consider them pointed measures of intimidation. Lastly, it must not be overlooked that in recent years, lesser-known radio employees have lost their jobs because of their political activities.

Toleration and its Limits

There are governments in East Europe which deal with critics of the regime more harshly than the Hungarian government. It is undeniable that here, the intelligentsia have a certain amount of elbow room in expressing their opinion, even in officially recognized magazines. However, during the course of the year, the tendency has gained the upper hand to restrict this elbow room and to strengthen ideological control of the aforementioned magazines. Where this was not successful, as in the case of MOZGO VILAG (World in Motion) which operates under the culture ministry, editor-in-chief Ferenc Kulin was dismissed. The publication of real underground literature was called an enemy action by party chief Kadar this spring; as late as 1981, Samisdat publications were sold almost openly, with the knowledge of the police.

In Hungary, there is no clear "rupture line" between officially tolerated and ostracized writers. The "middle generation" positions itself mostly between the regime and the opposition. They can quite appreciate Kadar's accomplishments in the economic and even social development of the country, but are looking for similar openness of the party in the intellectual area. These intellectuals, who did not consciously experience the events of 1956, often do not grasp the limited possibilities of their country within the Soviet sphere of power; they tend more strongly towards the opposition. Marxism, in theory as well as in practice, seems to have lost any power of attraction for the descendents of Gyorgy Lukacs.

The Hungarian communists seemingly try to prove that a certain amount of liberalization of the economic system is possible without political reform. Soviet party chief Andropov also seems to attempt this "squaring of the circle," since he apparently approves of the Hungarian way. With respect to relaxing the pressure, Hungary doubtlessly can show astonishing results, but the limits of the concept then are demonstrated in such a bagatelle as the police action against Gabor Demszky.

9917

CSO: 2300/208

KATOWICE PAPER OUTLINES BBC 'PROPAGANDA'

PM241942 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Remigiusz Jakubowski: "Discreet Propaganda of the BBC: Such is the Truth About Anti-Polish Centers"]

[Text] On Christmas Eve 1981 the New York JOURNAL OF COMMERCE carried the following observation:

"Whatever Solidarity activists and some American congressmen may say, the official embargo on food exports to Poland will hit the man in the street as much as it will hit the soldier...."

Unfortunately, this commonsense opinion voiced by what is, after all, a serious periodical passed unnoticed. President Ronald Reagan was just then busy setting up a worldwide campaign of discrimination against those in power on the Vistula, and every few minutes appeals were sent out on the air by both the Voice of America and the BBC urging the use of the "credit weapon" against Poland.

Journalists employed by the London broadcasting center distinguished themselves particularly with their operational skills. News items were broadcast on the air about street fights and roundup raids, about a hundred thousand internees and hundreds of fatalities. Listeners were filled with dread at the accounts of concentration camps and "roaring tanks." The tendentious nature of all that information was very obvious. Why then was it presented at all? To answer this question it is necessary to look at the history of the broadcasting station and its methods of operation.

The White Paper

The British Broadcasting Corporation came into existence 61 years ago. The waters of the Thames were still clear then, and politicians' views in the capital of William the Conqueror's country were still far from turning to extreme conservative positions--such as are now adopted by the government of Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady. (ACCORDING TO ITS LEGAL STATUTE) the broadcasting center was supposed ("to DEVELOP THE BROADCASTING SERVICE in the BRITISH NATIONAL INTEREST.") The so-called White Paper approved by his majesty's government authorized the London broadcasting service to broadcast

programs in foreign languages also. The document stipulates, however--and it seems understandable--that (PROGRAMS SHOULD be REALIZED in close CONSULTATION with the relevant DEPARTMENTS of the GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN) and that they should take into account their information concerning the political, social, and economic situation in the countries to which the programs would be broadcast, as well as the policy of his majesty's government toward those countries. Adherence to these principles ought to provide a guarantee for the convergence of the BBC's program policy line with the British "national interest," as the fine phrase had it. (POLITICAL CONTROL OVER PROGRAMS and DECISIONS about THEIR length and HOURS of BROADCASTING were ENTRUSTED to the FOREIGN OFFICE.) It is also worth noting that general control over the radio service is exercised by the Board of Governors, which represents various circles of the British establishment. It must, however, be admitted that (the ACTUAL DAY-TO-DAY RUNNING of the WORK of the BROADCASTING CENTER is the RESPONSIBILITY of the so-called BOARD of DIRECTORS. Its CHAIRMAN and MEMBERS are APPOINTED AND RECALLED BY THE PRIME MINISTER of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT.)

The first foreign-language programs were broadcast by the BBC in 1937. The British prime minister at that time was the appeaser Arthur Neville Chamberlain--who was, incidentally, a leading figure in the Conservative Party. Then British radio was the most powerful broadcasting center in the world. Some 130 hours of programs were broadcast daily in 30 languages of all continents. There were thus plenty of reasons for the BBC to be well pleased with itself.

The Apparent Objectivity

The BBC's Polish section came into existence soon after the first program in the Polish language was broadcast--to be precise, 7 September 1939. It is hardly necessary to remind anyone that that day abounded in dramatic events in our country. Hitler's army was drawing nearer and nearer to Warsaw, and over the next few weeks Poland found itself under the German occupation. At that time, and in the years to follow, information was broadcast to our country about the situation at the war fronts and the diplomatic activity in the allied camp.

But times changed, and the BBC programs have been modified accordingly. (AFTER the WAR the BBC's POLISH SECTION BECAME a PROPAGANDA INSTRUMENT for EMIGRE centers), especially the so-called London government, (and IT REMAINS SUCH to THIS DAY). Old Mr Raczynski's [present head of the Polish government in exile] successors will thus have continuing reasons to remember their obligations.

At present programs transmitted to our country by the BBC Polish section are prepared by several dozen journalists, among them such past or present celebrities as Zbigniew Blazynski, Jan Radomski, Antoni Pospieszalski, and Jan Krok-Paszkowski. These journalists, together with all their colleagues, profess the well known and very wise principle that: Anyone wishing to gain

credibility must be prepared to confess his own failures and weak points. He must also acknowledge his adversary's achievements." Such objectivity, however, turns out to be only apparent, for the broadcasting station carefully preserves the correct proportions between the "weak points" and the "achievements," between truth and falsehood in order to achieve its intended aims.

The consequence of this overriding method is that, according to some political scientists and press analysts, (THE BBC HAS DECIDED TO PURSUE THE SO-CALLED PROPAGANDA OF FACTS.) Working on the assumption that society is kept under-informed in the socialist countries, the BBC has devoted particular attention to the information content of its programs. To this end (IT PROCESSES AND HANDLES FACTS IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEIR STRUCTURE FORCES THE LISTENER TO INTERPRET THEM ACCORDING TO THE AUTHOR'S INTENTIONS.) Even the most casual listener will notice that, compared with Radio Free Europe, the BBC places less emphasis on its own commentaries and opinions. The latter are replaced by opinions quoted from the Western press and statements by bourgeois politicians and people active in emigre circles. Materials and documents produced by the opposition at home are very popular and widely used.

The Stick and Carrot Method

The BBC does, however, make an effort to avoid broadcasting extreme opinions. This is clearly confirmed by the thoroughly English, dispassionate style of its propaganda. One does not need to be a theoretician of the science of journalism to discover that the program policy of that station is pursued on two planes: one political and the other dealing with matters of ideology and political system. The London broadcasting center steadfastly criticizes the USSR's foreign policy, especially where it concerns the socialist countries. Over the past 18 months or so there has been particularly sharp criticism of the model values contained in our Eastern neighbor's experience and of the solutions adopted within the sociopolitical system in the process of building socialism. Such interpretations aim at causing decentralizing tendencies to appear in the socialist community. The BBC is also trying to detect discrepancies between theory and political practice in the socialist countries, and if phenomena of that kind do occasionally arise, then they are made maximum use of and given much prominence.

For some time now the London broadcasting center has not so much completely negated everything which is in any way connected with socialism as proposed that the latter be reformed in accordance with the theory of convergence. This antisocialist concept perpetuated by bourgeois-oriented social sciences contains a thesis on a gradual convergence of the socialist and capitalist societies. The basis on which this process arises is supposed to be the allegedly parallel or identical development of science and technology in both systems, combined with the elimination of class differences in capitalist society. One fact which remains studiously ignored is that the parallel nature of certain development trends in the sphere of technology and management techniques does not eliminate the differences that decide the character of the socialist or capitalist formation (the dominant type

of ownership of means of production and the type of sociopolitical system in operation) and the essential contrast between the class structure in those two systems.

As regards to Poland, BBC propaganda is adapted to fit the context of the historical circumstances which have influenced the present state of awareness of the Polish people. Its programs usually view Polish questions from the international perspective, this being a tactic aimed at reinforcing the listener in his sense of the importance of the "Polish question" in world politics.

The genesis of the crisis in our country and also the whole course of that crisis provided a source of excellent material for the BBC: It could be treated in many different ways and used in propaganda programs directed not only at Poland itself but also at other countries in the socialist bloc. In its attempts to actively influence the course of events in our country, (THE BBC CONCENTRATED the THRUST OF ITS PROPAGANDA ON THE FOLLOWING FOUR ELEMENTS: the authorities in power, the system, the party, and Polish-Soviet relation. Attempts were made to accentuate the divisions between the "top" and the "grassroots," or the "dogmatists" and the "liberals" in the PZPR. Encouragement was extended to party horizontal structures and support given to all signs of ideological prostration within the party.

In their programs BBC journalists promoted various forms of propaganda of the kind which was gradually leading to a breakdown of the internal system of the Polish People's Republic. That was why attempts were made, and are still made, to discredit government proposals for reforms--such as, for instance, the proposed law on trade unions--by dismissing them as insufficient in view of the exigencies of the existing situation. What situation?

Although nowadays the aggressiveness of BBC propaganda is somewhat diminished, that broadcasting center continues nonetheless to put out programs designed to "help the opposition survive with as few losses as possible." The activities of the opposition are viewed in a benign light, and support is given to the American policy of restrictions--although, as I have recently been told by Prof Michal Dobroczynski, a political scientist from the Polish Institute of International Affairs, we are going to feel the adverse consequences of Reagan's sanctions for many years to come. In short, attempts are being made to persuade our Polish society that we should revert to the situation that existed before martial law was introduced. This "stick and carrot" method is supposed to prompt the Polish Government to make political concessions in return for economic help. It is all too obvious that such a stand is banal in the extreme. The Polish Government will never settle for any compromise or make any concessions. We will not accept any interference by foreign states--or, even worse, emigre centers--in the internal affairs of our sovereign state. The speech delivered by the chairman of the Council of State at the latest session of UN General Assembly and also the note addressed by our Ministry of Internal Affairs to the US Government have once again brought this fact into focus for the enemies of our state.

NEW REGULATIONS ON STATE, OFFICIAL SECRETS ANALYZED

Warsaw PANSTWO I PRAWO in Polish No 11, Nov 83 pp 28-40

[Article by Barbara Kunicka-Michalska]

[Text] Effective 1 July 1983 the law on protection of state and official secrets of 14 July 1982 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 40, Item 271] was implemented. It delineates the principles and methods of dealing with information constituting state and official secrets (Art. 1). New--in comparison with the preceding legal status--is its presentation in the form of a law as well as more comprehensive regulation of many problems which hitherto have been defined partially by often unpublished acts of the so-called internal law, or found no expression in any regulations.¹ At the same time, the previous regulations on the weight of the law were annulled and replaced by new ones. Thus, annulled were §15 and §16 of article 120 of the Penal Code, and article XVI of the introductory regulations to the Penal Code.²

Since the regulations on implementation of the law have already been discussed in legal journals,³ I will not present the new regulations in detail, but rather focus on selected more difficult problems arising from the law, and on the differences in the old and new definitions of both secrets.

1. Unlike the legal systems of many other states, the Polish one does not define the term "secret" in its legal regulations. Instead it limits itself to defining (imprecisely at that) certain special categories of secrets either by defining them (as in the law on protection of state and official secrets, and earlier in article 120, §§15-16 of the Penal Code), or by defining the range of compulsory discretion (e.g., in the law on the bar, law on the profession of physician, or partly in the banking law).⁴ This approach was necessitated by practical considerations as well as by difficulties in attempts to define in a normative form the secret as a general term, which would be useful to various fields of law, and even to specific categories of law.⁵ However, taking such an approach in the legal system would cause certain ramifications. Thus, when interpreting individual and legally defined categories of secret, one must keep in mind the principle of the term "secret" in its legal sense as defined in the legal doctrine. Therefore, neither the so-called absolute secret, that is, facts not known yet to anybody, nor the so-called "facts not yet learned," that is, facts commonly known or commonly accessible which are unknown only to some individuals, who have not learned them as yet, cannot

be considered secrets which are legally protected. Secret in legal sense is a secret which can be legally protected and which can be violated ("violative," "betrayable") and does not correspond to the common and very broad understanding of this term. A legally protected secret can be only a secret which is a relative secret (comparative secret), that is, fact known to a certain circle of people (or to a certain person). This group of people, who possess information requiring discretion, consists of the trustee of the secret (the so-called servant of secret), that is, the one who cannot use it at his own discretion and is sworn to silence, and of the manager of the secret (the so-called master of secret), that is, the one who has the authority to decide if a given fact must be kept in secrecy.⁶ The "master" of secret can be absolute (unlimited) or conditional (limited) manager of secret depending on his status. Therefore, both state and the official secrets (regardless of their definitions as offered by the law) can be only the fact known to the secret's managers or trustees. Thus, if someone divulges information still unknown--e.g., a product of his imagination--we do not have a situation where a secret has been violated. It does not matter if such information later assumes real form and becomes known to masters of secret, who decided to make it the object of protection; such information at the time of disclosure did not have the characteristics of a secret. Likewise, no violation of state or official secret will take place when the information is commonly known and accessible and person(s) to whom it was disclosed had not known it (did not acquire it despite its accessibility). Therefore, information made public in the press, or other accessible publications, or communicated by radio or television, cannot from that moment be considered state or official secret even if it has been established that the information had been made public by mistake or oversight.

2. The new law like the old legal solutions (article 120, §15 and §16 of the Penal Code) is characterized by the use of collective notions of state and official secrets. These can cover areas which are treated separately in the laws of other countries, such as military, economic, trade, industrial, enterprise, mail, bank, office, or certain areas of professional secret, etc.⁷

This kind of collective notion on the one hand is beneficial, mostly due to its usefulness to legislators and organs which use the regulations in practice, but it is deficient on the other hand. The main deficiency is that these notions can be stretched as a result of their general and imprecise definition, resulting to a high degree from coverage of various areas by one notion, areas which could have been separately protected. Thus, the state secret equally covers information in the national security area, economy, and any other area specified in article 2 of the law, despite the fact that there exist substantial differences in the importance of each. Consequently, article 2 of the law uses the collective notion of possibility of bringing harm to important interests of the state, that is, an imprecise notion, which creates a danger of variable and overly broad interpretation in practice. Thus, it can lead to a situation when even not very important information in practice may grow to attain the rank of a state secret, because the notion of important interest is a value judgment to a high degree. Likewise, as the definition of the official secret shows, by retaining the term "official," which ought to be linked with the traditional concept of public service and the concept of office employee (used in the past to define the office secret), this notion was enriched by types of

information which have nothing in common with the said service. Thus, the "official secret" can be treated as conventional only, because actually it is an employment secret, as the definition clearly indicates. It is doubtful, then, that the treatment of the office secret--that is, official secret in the traditional sense--should be the same as something that is just another kind of employment secret. Is their importance really the same? Perhaps it would be better to differentiate between the two, particularly now when we are returning to the concept of the state service law.⁸

There is no doubt that differentiating between individual types of secrets and giving them proper legal meaning would be much more complex than the use of the said collective notions. However, there arises the question of whether, during the drafting of the new bill, an attempt should not have been made to come up with new definitions of various kinds of secrets and give such secrets names in accordance with their legal weight, which would allow for differentiation in legal responsibilities for violating them. Violations of some secrets, which are at present covered in the collective term "official secret," could be prosecuted at the initiative of the harmed person (whether an institution or a private individual), for it is not always in the interest of the master of secret to use the public prosecuting forum, which often contributes to further dissemination of the information. It would be of particular importance to situations defined in article 3, paragraph 1 of the law, that is, when the disclosure of information may harm the citizen's interests.

The basic deficiency in the legal regulations concerning the protection of secrets is the ongoing lack of a regulation which would separately protect professional and related secrets, despite long-time criticisms of this state of affairs.⁹ Private secrets are still insufficiently protected, and the reference to citizen's interests in article 3, paragraph 1 of the law makes little difference in this regard. An advantage of the law in comparison with the previous legal situation is that article 3, paragraph 1 stresses that information which constitutes an official secret is considered a state secret at the same time, for until now the same information could be both. The present solution is simpler and more comprehensible. The legislator made a correct assumption that the state secret covers the official secret when the information involved has the particulars of both. Although general definitions of both secrets will not alleviate difficulties in practice during the decisionmaking process to decide whether given information constitutes a state or official secret (that is, whether the state or the public interest is involved) in view of the value judgment involved, nevertheless the said solution will be of great help in the practical application of the regulations.

3. Another problem requiring consideration in view of the new law is the problem of the relationship of the definitions of both secrets as covered in article 2, paragraphs 1-2, and article 3, paragraph 1, to articles 12-13 in connection with article 6, paragraphs 1-2, and article 3, paragraph 2, of the law. In other words, the question is what is the importance of the legal requirement to prepare rosters of items considered secrets and to stamp documents "secret," "secret of special importance," and "confidential," and what is the significance of these actions for determining whether a given piece of information constitutes a secret protected by the law. In the previous legal situation it was assumed

in theory that the definitions of state and official secrets contained a material description of these secrets. Thus, the formal designation of information by means of a proper imprint had no impact on whether the information would be considered a secret or not; it only was of ancillary use. Therefore, information with such an imprint may not have been a state or official secret--if its material content did not meet the requirements of a secret--and conversely, information without an appropriate imprint could have constituted a secret.¹⁰ There was no legal requirements to use the said imprints and to compile rosters of items which were considered secret. These matters were covered by regulations of a lower order, often unpublished, and article XVI of the introductory regulations to the Penal Code gave only the authority, but not the obligation to the Council of Ministers to define in detail in an executive order the kinds of information, documents, or other subject which would constitute a state secret. The Council of Ministers used its authority by issuing unpublished Executive Order No 128 of 2 July 1971 on the organization of protection of state and official secrets.

If we look at legal theories with regard to the protection of secrets, we notice that the previous legal solutions were based on the so-called interest theory. The present bill mandates that the supreme and central state organs as well as local organs of state administration at the provincial level (with regard to banks, it is the president of the Polish National Bank [NBP]) make up rosters of information items constituting state secrets with regard to their activities, or activities of units under their jurisdiction and/or supervised by them (article 6, paragraphs 1-3), and announce these rosters in official publications or other publications issued by the organs which prepared the rosters (with the exception of rosters covering defense, armed forces, and security of the state)--article 6, paragraph 4--and that these organs continuously update these rosters--article 6, paragraph 5. As to the official secrets, it is the managers of state, cooperative, and civic organizational units who are obligated to make up the appropriate rosters with regard to information covered by their activities. At the same time, article 12 requires designation of documents by means of such clauses as "secret of special importance" and "secret" in the case of a state secret, and "confidential" in the case of an official secret, based on their content and in accordance with the said rosters. Article 13 regulates the issue of labeling documents received from and mailed abroad due to international agreements.

It seems that the implementation of the said solutions in the law should also be reflected in the definitions of both secrets. The legislator has not done so, however. Neither do any of the regulations explain the relationships between them and the definitions of both secrets. This is a deficiency in the law, for such an important question should not have been left open. In an attempt to resolve this problem it must be assumed that the regulations contained in the bill must be interpreted as a whole and they must not be allowed to be clearly internally inconsistent, at least in major matters. Therefore, the only sensible interpretation seems to be an assumption that the regulations in article 6, paragraphs 1-2, article 3, paragraph 2, and articles 12 and 13 complement the definitions of both secrets which are contained in articles 2 and 3 of the law.

Thus, at present the approach to state and official secrets is material-formal and, unlike before, based not on the interest theory but on the interest will theory, also known as the modified interest theory. Thus, in order to be able to talk about penalties for disclosing a state secret it must be established first that the information meets the requirements of article 2 and possesses other formal features, required by the remaining regulations discussed earlier. This notion of secret is narrower than the one defined in the previous legal situation. By making the acts of compiling information rosters and of labeling documents with such imprints as "secret" and "secret of special importance" a requirement, the legislator has narrowed the range of information covered by discretion. This is an important matter considering the fact that every citizen is obligated to keep a state secret (article 5, paragraph 1) regardless of the way he acquired it; this means also individuals who do not possess the habit of being careful--acquired in connection with performed function or profession--due to lack of access to information of state importance.

Consequently, the penalty for disclosing a state secret can be considered only when the information is of the type which when disclosed can harm an important interest of the state and when it is included in the roster compiled by the appropriate organ (master of secret), and when--in the case of a document--it has one of the mentioned imprints. Naturally, mere inclusion of information in the roster (and the imprint) do not make information a state secret if it is not meritorious under article 2 of the law. Both the material and formal features mentioned above must be present jointly. The same principle must be applied to the official secret as is additionally indicated by article 8 of the law: "A person with authorized access to information constituting a state secret must be acquainted with his duties, spelled out in the law and in other regulations concerning protection of state secrets in force at a given organizational unit in conjunction with information rosters constituting state and official secrets. The fact that the person was informed of the cited obligations must be documented." It is incomprehensible, however, that with regard to persons with authorized access to official secrets no such requirement has been established. After all, it is difficult to comply with unknown regulations.

The obligation to compile secret information rosters and to imprint the documents with a proper clause is also important in deciding the offense of the perpetrator in the case of a secret disclosure (naturally, in conjunction with establishing the offense with regard to the meritoriousness of the information). Of importance here will be the process of acquainting the perpetrator with the rosters and clauses.

Persons who are unconditionally authorized to decide whether information should be kept confidential cannot be charged with secret disclosure if they had decided not to keep information confidential, because the master of secret has the right to manage the information. If his decision was incorrect and taken with understanding of its incorrectness, one can talk about dereliction of duty or about exceeding his authority, but not about secret disclosure.

4. The abolished article 120, §15 of the Penal Code defined the state secret as information whose disclosure to unauthorized persons may endanger the security or other political or economic interests of the Polish People's Republic

[PRL]. The new article 2, paragraph 1 of the law replaced the term "unauthorized persons" [osoby nieuprawnione] with the term "persons without authority" [osoby nie upowaznione]. On the one hand, the circle of persons authorized to learn the secret was reduced, but on the other hand it was enlarged, for the notion of authorization means that a person is given the authority to learn the secret by an act of will of an appropriate organ, while authority may come from the nature of the function performed or position held without the act of will of an appropriate organ and in this sense authorization is a narrower term than authority. At the same time, authorization is a broader term, because authorization can be given to anybody who meets the requirements spelled out in article 7 of the law. Thus authorization creates authority. It seems that the cited change was a result of difficulties in practice with regard to the term of persons who have the authority [osoby uprawnione].¹¹ However, in view of the fact that often both terms were not differentiated and used interchangeably (including even such terms as "persons not entitled to learn secrets")¹² in the previous regulations, it can be assumed that the change reflected style, not substance. Also, it would be too optimistic to assume that the cited change will remove difficulties in practice with regard to the interpretation of previous regulations dealing with the term of "entitled" person. In fact, the law alone fosters doubts, because the cited change has not been consistently implemented. A clear contradiction can be seen when one looks at the definition of the state secret in article 2, paragraph 1, and in article 7, point 6 of the same law. Article 2, paragraph 1 talks about disclosing information to "persons without authority," while article 7, point 6 allows the compilation of a roster of positions and functions, "the performing of which entitles one to access to information considered a state secret without obtaining advance authorization." Thus, there are two groups who can be given the information: the authorized ones, and those who are entitled, although not authorized. Should not this situation be reflected in the definition of the state secret? If we accept the term of "entitlement," which can come with position or function (without the need to obtain authorization), or due to an authorization, would it not be better to retain the former notion of "entitlement" in the definition of the state secret and explain it in a separate regulation?

Article 7, point 6 creates doubts, which may become of great practical importance. Thus, in accordance with article 7, paragraph 1, point 6, the marshal of the Sejm compiles the roster of positions in executive and advisory organs of the Sejm which entitle holders to access to secrets without securing prior authorization. There arises the question of what the situation is with regard to access to secrets at other Sejm organs. This important issue is not addressed by the law, even though it concerns the Sejm commissions and Sejm deputies. Perhaps the legislator acted on the assumption that the nature of the Sejm commissions entitles its members to access to secrets without the need to regulate this issue in the law. Possibly the Sejm deputies were placed in the same category; nevertheless, the regulations are worded in such way that one cannot exclude an interpretation which would require the deputies to obtain authorization for access to secrets, and this would often prevent the deputies from learning the merits of the issues they make decisions on in the Sejm.

Leaving out such important issues is clearly a deficiency, considering the fact that the law was supposed to regulate the entire problem of the state and official secrets. This is, in fact, not the only example of deficiencies in the law. In general, its wording makes it difficult to establish who is in fact the "master" of secrets. The bill does not point to the special constitutional role of the Sejm. Undoubtedly, the Sejm as the highest organ of the state authority is by nature of the function performed the unconditional manager of state secrets, and this fact should have been restated in the law. Article 6, paragraph 1 talks about the supreme and central state organs and local organs of state administration at the provincial level and requires them to establish rosters of secret information, but when doing so it uses the general term "organs." And yet, Article 7, paragraph 6, points 2-3 state that only certain positions and functions in these organs entitle people to access to secret information without obtaining prior authorization, and that the organs as such are not entitled to the same. Furthermore, the law indicates that none of the positions and functions in the local organs of state administration below the provincial level entitle people to access to state secrets without obtaining advance authorization. It is difficult to predict how such solutions will work out in practice.

The old regulation talked about information the disclosure of which may harm security or other important political or economic interests of the PRL. The new regulation distinguishes defense as a separate category; it does not separate political and economic interests and lumps them together under the label of "other important state interests," and additionally provides a long list of items which the information may contain. Although the list makes the definition of secret more precise, it is still insufficient. The list is not comprehensive enough, as witnessed by the phrase "in particular," used in article 2, paragraph 1 of the law. The cited phrase seriously weakens the limiting quality of the list mentioned above. A question then arises of whether the list was necessary at all. If the legislator concluded that the list did not cover all facets of life requiring categorization as a secret, it would have been better to complement the list rather than use a phrase which in practice may lead to great broadening of the term "state secret."

Likewise, the range of the cited list raises doubts. It is particularly difficult to understand the listing of the forms and methods of work of the organs of public order and security without making it more precise. Only in the part of the regulation which deals with making secret information identifying the officers of these organs, does the law more precisely identify only intelligence and counterintelligence officers. The general listing of forms and methods of work of the organs of public order and security opens the way to an overly broad interpretation which, in turn, invites abuse and limitation of public control and, more importantly, this may make it impossible for a citizen to realize whether the officer's action taken against him is legal or not. This is a clear oversight on the legislators' part. This regulation is particularly incomprehensible in view of the fact that some methods and forms of work of the cited organs have been defined in regulations which have the strength of a law (thus they cannot be considered a secret), e.g., the law on the office of the minister of internal affairs and activity framework of organs under his jurisdiction of 14 July 1983 (articles 6-9 and others). Furthermore, not all of the other forms and methods of work of these organs--other than the ones spelled out in

commonly accessible legal acts--are important enough to constitute a secret. Some of them may have been considered an official secret, while many should not be even considered a secret. Even now, many of the forms and methods of work are the result of scientific breakthroughs (particularly in the field of criminology) and become popularized--rightfully so--in commonly available publications. It is necessary, however, to separate the intelligence and counter-intelligence work from other activities of these organs.

Similar doubts are raised by using in the regulations the phrase "preparations and negotiations with regard to international agreements"--a notion too general and encompassing all kinds of agreements. While it is understandable that, for example, preparations for an agreement on cooperation to produce a certain kind of weapon would be considered a secret, extending secrecy to, for example, include preparations to conclude an agreement on conducting joint research on the history of the Slavic languages is unjustified. Not very understandable is also the listing in article 4 of "production of basic importance to the national economy" without more precise definitions. Although, according to article 2, paragraph 1, a state secret is information the disclosure of which may endanger important state interests, and the discussed categories can be made more precise in detailed rosters, it must be remembered that the categories listed in article 2, paragraph 1, points 1-6 give direction and delineate the legal framework for detailed legal acts, which will specify the types of information and secrecy clauses applicable. Thus, the said list should be prepared in a way that will not allow a broader interpretation.

The notion of state interests used in article 2, paragraph 1 of the law, and also in other legal acts in various fields of law, is a notion which is insufficiently precise, not specific enough, and creates the danger of excessive freedom of interpretation, but which also may be dependent on current tendencies in state policy, as has been correctly observed in legal literature.¹³ Although the cited regulations do not address themselves to just any state interest, but only to the important one, nevertheless the issue of the importance of the interest calls for a value judgment to a high degree. Also, it is worthwhile to note that, while interpreting this notion one must not forget that the interest of the state means the interest of the state as a whole, that it cannot be identified with the interest of a given organizational unit, e.g., an individual state enterprise, or with an abstract interest, it must be identified with a specific state interest.¹⁴ Also, the state interest is not the interest of certain groups or individuals occupying important state positions.¹⁵ The definitions of both secrets also contain a very valuable statement: "can bring harm to...the interests." It must be emphasized, then, that in order to establish whether information is a secret it is necessary to show that disclosing a given piece of information could have brought real (concrete) harm--not abstract harm--and to show what the state interest was.¹⁶

5. The term of official secret was defined in article 3 of the law in the following manner: "for official secret is information which does not constitute a state secret and which an employee has acquired in the course of his duties in the state, cooperative, or civic organizational unit and disclosure of which can bring harm to the interests of the public, the cited organizational unit, or a citizen." Thus, the law links the notion of official secret with the notion

of the employee. Such a secret is only information which was acquired by an "employee." The term "employee" probably ought to be understood in accordance with the definition in the Labor Code (article 2), that is, we are dealing here with the legal meaning of the term, which differs from its socioeconomic meaning.¹⁷ Although in certain situations, due to the similarity of the social status of other persons to the social situation of an employee, the jurisdiction of certain labor law regulations was broadened to cover persons who are not employees as defined in article 2 of the Labor Code,¹⁸ the broadened jurisdiction does not grant them the status of an employee.¹⁹

Grammatical interpretation of the new bill does not allow broader interpretation of the term of "employee" than the definition offered in the Labor Code in view of the principle of cohesiveness of the entire legal system. Therefore, the legislators clearly intended to cover employees only with regard to official secrets, as exemplified by not only the definition of official secret, but also by article 5, paragraph 2 of the law, which talks about the employee and the labor contract. Thus, a person who performs a function for an organizational unit on the basis of, for example, a work contract for a specific function, written work, or based on a flat sum, is not an employee. This also applies to PhD candidates, students on work-study programs, etc. Despite the fact that covering such persons by the obligation to keep an official secret would not be a correct solution, the solution offered in the law shows another gap, which is the lack of regulations with regard to the protection of trade secrets (and related secrets) in the cited law and in the Penal Code. For the harm that can be inflicted on a citizen by disclosing his private secret can be the same regardless whether the disclosure was made by an employee in the legal sense or by, for example, an intern who had learned the secret during his internship in an organizational unit, or a PhD candidate who had learned it in the course of his research.

In the legal sense, one is an employee only for the duration of his labor contract.²⁰ However, the law under discussion states that "the obligation to keep a secret applies both during the time covered by the labor contract and after its expiration" (article 5, paragraph 2). This does not mean that the definition of an employee was changed, but the obligation to keep a secret was extended to former employees who learned the secret while under a labor contract. This duty does not carry any sanctions for a violation. A former employee cannot be prosecuted under article 264 of the Penal Code in the case of disclosing a secret after the expiration of his labor contract; any doubts may concern only situations in which the perpetrator continues to be a civil servant as defined by the Penal Code.²¹

Also, the employee's responsibility is not very realistic. Only in rare situations, when the disclosure is of a secret which is separately protected and has nothing to do with the term "employee," can a person be subjected to disciplinary or professional penalty or even punishment for a criminal offense (e.g., for disclosing a medical secret). However, a person can be prosecuted as a private person in general. This solution also shows a gap created by the failure to regulate the protection of professional secrets (and related secrets), and in particular denies protection to private secrets of a citizen, since the obligations specified in articles 23 and 24 of the Civil Code are highly insufficient, considering the current wording of the regulations.²²

The old definition of an official secret dealt with information "acquired by an employee in connection with his work," while the present one deals with information, "acquired by an employee while performing his duties." Thus, the notion of official secret was narrowed quite visibly. The phrase "his duties" in the state, cooperative, or civic organizational unit means--when compared with the term "employee"--that it covers only employees' duties and no other, and additionally that it concerns the duties performed by a given employee and by somebody else ("his"). This is clearly suggested by the wording of article 9 of the law, which is logically linked with the official secret. It reads as follows: "An employee can be given only such information, constituting a state and official secret, that falls within the realm of his duties." The legislators decided that each employee must protect against disclosure the information which was entrusted to him, and that the duty to protect official secrets must be assigned only to those who have access to information which was given to them as persons authorized to learn it, and therefore only those who have access to information in connection with the performance of their own duties must be burdened with the duty to protect the official secret. This change is a positive one with respect to the so-called "pure" official secret,²³ but nevertheless--it seems--it narrowed the range of protection of the citizen's secret (which lies in the interests of the citizen) which was accidentally acquired by, for example, Mr X due to the fact that he works in the same institution and not while performing his duties. This situation again shows the deficiency constituted by the lack of separate protection of private secrets. The law under discussion covers it only partly when a private secret happens to be an official secret at the same time.

Another change in the notion of official secret is the substitution of the term "state and civic institution" by the term "state, cooperative, or civic organizational unit." As can be assumed, that change resulted from difficulties in dealing with the term "civic institution," which was related to the term "civic organization of the working people,"²⁴ used, among other places, in article 120 §12 of the Penal Code; moreover, it probably was aimed at making the terminology more consistent with that in other legal acts. Characteristically, although the law talks about an employee, a decision was made not to use the term "state, cooperative, or civic place of work." To sum up, there is no significant change between the new and the old term, particularly if we view it from the perspective of article 120 §12 of the Penal Code; the change, then, seems to be nothing more than terminological. Likewise, it seems that the interpretative difficulties are similar to the previous ones.

Another change concerns the scope of possible harm. And if before information was considered an official secret if its disclosure could bring harm to "socially justified interests," the current modification reads: "public interest and justified interests of the organizational unit or the citizen." The old term was very general. It dealt with both the collective and individual interests as long as it was justified socially, or by social considerations.²⁵ At present it deals with interest, called social in general, without the requirement to justify it, while the interests of the organizational unit and the citizen is covered by this definition only if it is justified. It seems that the legislators decided that the term "public interest" means that it is justified interest. Such an assumption obligates us to understand this term

only in the sense of the interests of the society as a whole, for the interests of various social groups may differ and often contradict each other: some more justified by general public interests, while others justified from the point of view of a given social or professional group only. Furthermore, the term "public interest" is imprecise and unclear.²⁶ Other interpretive doubts are caused by the wording "justified interest of the organizational unit." First, it is not clear what considerations justify that interest in view of the fact that it was placed along with the public interest; a conflict of interest can be clearly envisaged. Is it, then, interest justified only in the view of a given organizational unit, or by public considerations? Also, it will be difficult to use in practice the term "the" organizational unit, since often we are dealing with several cooperating organizational units. Will, then, the secret of one of the cooperators shared with a given organizational unit in the framework of a cooperation agreement be protected in the unit with which it was shared? The law suggests that it would not be protected unless it is a secret of both units at the same time. Another problem will arise when the disclosure of information lies in the interest of organizational unit X, but is not in the interest of the cooperating organizational unit, even though both interests could be justified. Similar questions are brought forward by the wording "justified interest of a citizen." Should it be justified in the view of the citizen or by more general considerations? How can one resolve the conflict of interest between Ms X and Mr Y, and between the citizen and the organizational unit?

As can be seen, the new wording is not free of interpretive difficulties. The scope of this article only allows them to be indicated. The old wording covered the interests which are presently singled out, with the general requirement that those interests be justified by public (that is, socially) interest only. The citizen's interest, spelled out in article 3, paragraph 1 of the law, is not a new development, for such interest was already included in the old wording (if it was justified by public interest); however, clear emphasis of the individual's interest is a positive feature of the new solution, because it excludes the danger of a different interpretation. Although the new solution, consisting of separate naming of three interests, was aimed at making the old terminology more precise, the question is whether it will be able to escape the pitfalls of the previous solution in terms of becoming simpler in practice.

The problem of the protection of secrets is broad and very complex. It is justifiably regarded as one of the most difficult issues in the legal systems of many states. This article has not exhausted all of the problems arising out of the new law, and it deals only with some of them in a rather cursory manner. It must be noted that the author did not discuss the problem of legal responsibility under articles 260-64 of the Penal Code, although the new law gives rise to a number of questions in this regard without really changing the wording of the cited statutes.

Finally, it is worthwhile to remember that the protection of the state and of the so-called purely official secrets is a limitation of the principle of the openness of the public life which always must be taken into consideration in the process of classifying information with regard to its content, and this should lead to making information secret only in absolutely necessary instances.

FOOTNOTES

1. See DIARIUSZ SEJMOWY [SEJM DAILY REPORT]. Sprawozdanie z 29 posiedzenie plenarnego Sejmu w dniach 13-14 XII 1982 [Report from the 29th Sejm plenary meeting on 13-14 December 1982], Warsaw, 1982, p 33.
2. S. Hoc, "Ochrona tajemnicy państwowej. Potrzeby i propozycje rozwiązań" [Protection of State Secrets: The Needs and Proposals], GAZETA PRAWNICZA No 9, 1982, p 5.
3. The new law made extensive use of Hoc's proposals, published in GAZETA PRAWNICZA. See also: Hoc, "Nowe prawo o ochronie tajemnicy" [New Law on Protection of Secrets], PROBLEMY PRAWORZADNOSCI No 3, 1983, p 21ff; S. Flasiński, "Lekarstwo na długi język" [Medicine for a Long Tongue], PRAWO I ŻYCIE No 16, 1983, pp 4-5; "Przegląd Ustawodawstwa" [Review of Legislation], WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD PRAWNICZY No 1, 1983, pp 91ff; W. Kubala, "Wybrane prawokarne i profilaktyczne aspekty ustawy o kontroli publikacji i widowisk" [Selected Legal-Penal and Preventive Aspects of the Bill on Control of Publications and Performance], WOJSKOWY PRZEGLĄD PRAWNICZY No 3, 1982, pp 287-288.
4. Sometimes the notion of a certain specialized category of secrets is a result of ban on dissemination of certain data, e.g., article 255 of the Penal Code (secrecy of civil prosecution procedure), law on state statistics (statistical secret), etc.
5. B. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy w kodeksie karnym" [Protection of Secrets in the Penal Code], ACTA UNIVERSITATIS NICOLAI COPERNICI: Prawo XVI-Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, Book No 89, pp 86-87.
6. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy zawodowej w polskim prawie karnym" [Protection of Professional Secrets in the Polish Penal Law], Warsaw, 1972, pp 5-7, 19.
7. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy w kodeksie..." op. cit., pp 87-90.
8. T. Zieliński, "Podstawowe problemy reformy prawa służby państwowej w PRL" [Basic Problems of Reform of the Civil Service Law in PRL], PANSTWO I PRAWO No. 9, 1982, pp 45ff; see also: Law on Members of Civil Service of 16 September 1982 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 31, Item 214), which uses the term "civil servant."
9. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy zawodowej..." op. cit., pp 69ff, 109-51, 202-203; M. Stanowska, "Tajemnica adwokacka w procesie karnym" [Layer's Secret in Penal Proceedings] (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation defended at Warsaw University); J. Zarnecka, "Ochrona tajemnicy prywatnej" [Protection of Privacy], NOWE PRAWO No 9, 1976, pp 1254ff; see also: article 264a in "Projekt zmian przepisów k.k." [Proposed Changes in the Penal Code], Warsaw, 1981, and article 264¹ in "Społeczny projekt nowelizacji ustawy z 19 IV 1969 roku" [Citizens' Proposal to Amend to Law of 19 April 1969], Krakow, 1981.

10. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy w kodeksie..." op. cit., p 92 and bibliography; also, T. Chrustowski, "Ochrona tajemnicy państwowej" [Protection of State Secrets], ZESZYTY NAUKOWE AKADEMII SPRAW WEWNĘTRZNYCH No. 28, 1981, pp 27-28.
11. C. Kowalski, "O wzmożenie ochrony tajemnicy państwowej i służbowej" [For Intensification of Protection of State and Official Secrets], PROBLEMY KRYMINALISTYKI No 84, 1970, pp 165-66.
12. See: decision of the Supreme Court of 17 March 1971, III KR 260/70 with a comment by Hoc in NOWE PRAWO Nos 7-8, 1972, pp 1260ff. The decision used the notion of a person "not entitled by the position occupied by him."
13. T. Erecinski, "Glosa do wyroku z 21 IV 1979, III CRN 305/78" [Comment on Court Sentence of 21 April 1979, III CRN 305/78], PANSTWO I PRAWO No 6, 1981, p 145.
14. Ibid., pp 145-46.
15. Chrustowski, "Ochrona..." op. cit., p 26.
16. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy zawodowej..." op. cit., pp 83-86; K. Buchala, "Glosa do wyroku z 21 IX 1981, I KR 171/81" [Comment on Court Sentence of 21 September 1981, I KR 171/81], PANSTWO I PRAWO No 4, 1983, p 143.
17. W. Szubert, "Zarys prawa pracy" [Outline of the Labor Law], Warsaw, 1980, pp 83-84.
18. Ibid., pp 64, 84; A. Filcek, W. Formanski, M. Piekarski, S. Rejman, F. Rusek, Z. Salwa, and K. Zielinski, "Kodeks pracy z komentarzem" [Labor Code with Commentaries], Warsaw, 1979, pp 710ff.
19. Szubert, "Zarys..." op. cit., p 84.
20. Ibid., p 84.
21. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy zawodowej..." op. cit., pp 109ff.
22. Ibid., pp 39-42, 115, 201-202.
23. With regard to the meaning of this term see ibid., p 84.
24. T. Misiuk, "Pojecie organizacji społecznej ludu pracującego" [The Term Civic Organization of the Working People], PANSTWO I PRAWO No 1, 1969, pp 17ff; J. Bednarzak, "Funkcjonariusz publiczny jako znamie przestępstwa służbowego" [Civil Servant as Mark of Official Violation], NOWE PRAWO Nos 3-4, 1982, pp 85ff.
25. Kunicka-Michalska, "Ochrona tajemnicy zawodowej..." op. cit., pp 80ff.

26. With regard to public interest see M. Cieslak, "Interes społeczny jako czynnik warunkujący prokuratorskie objęcie oskarżenia w sprawie prywatnoskargowej" [Public Interest As Factor Necessitating Prosecution in Civil-Complaint Case], PANSTWO I PRAWO No 12, 1956, pp 1049ff.

8609

CSO: 2600/403

PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGNS REPORTED

Campaign Strengthens Party Ranks

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Warsaw--The meeting of the Intraparty Commission of the Central Committee of the PZPR took place on 23 November and was chaired by candidate member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak. The progress of the reports-elections campaign in the party was on the agenda.

The commission listened to the information provided by the director of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, Kazimierz Cypryniak, who spoke about the course of reports-elections meetings in party groups, in department party organizations [OOP] and basic party organizations [POP] and in a part of plant party organizations.

It was indicated during the discussions that the campaign is proceeding in accordance with the programmatic assumptions and adopted timetables. During meetings and conferences, members of the party make honest evaluations of the realization of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. They summarize the implementation of the resolutions of the Central Committee, and make critical reviews of their own programs. The meetings and conferences provide a good opportunity for a sharper look at the existing shortcomings and weaknesses. The party organizations adopt realistic and constructive programs for the next term of office, chose their authorities and delegates to the higher level conferences. The functions are assigned to comrades who have proved themselves during this period, which has not been easy for the party. Workers constitute a significant segment of the authorities of the basic and factory party organizations and among the chosen delegates.

The Intraparty Commission positively evaluated the course of the reports-elections campaign until now, while emphasizing at the same time that during the future course of the campaign it is necessary to pay particular attention to ensure the participation of workers in the party authorities and the entrusting of functions to young members of the party. The commission expressed a view that the programs of action for party organizations which are being adopted should take into account the situation in members' own communities, concentrate on the elimination of shortcomings and weaknesses

which are causes of dissatisfaction for the working class and the working people, and on raising economic productivity. To achieve this, the reports-elections meetings and conferences should utilize the rich contents of the resolutions passed by the 13th and 14th Plenums of the Central Committee. The programs of actions of party organizations must express fully the principle of the unity of ideology, politics and economy. The members of the commission asserted that the adoption of clear, realistic and concrete programs of action, the designation of tasks for every party group and every party member constitutes an important goal, as does the principled accounting for the fulfillment of these tasks which has to follow. Solid control of the realization of motions proposed by party members is indispensable already during the course of the campaign.

The Intraparty Commission stated that the progress of the reports-elections campaign insures the ideological and political strengthening of the ranks, the steering of the activities of party organizations towards the full implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. It augurs an increase of the authority of party organizations in the communities in which they operate.

Plants, City-Gmina Campaign Conferences

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 24 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Articles by (klos) and (rk): "Plant and City-Gmina Conferences Have Begun. The Reports-Elections Campaign of the PZPR."]

[Text] The departmental and basic party organizations in Bialystok, Lomza and Suwalki Provinces are coming to the end of their reports-elections campaigns. The second stage of the campaign involves plant, city, gmina, and city-gmina conferences, which precede the provincial conferences which will take place in January of next year.

The issues which dominated the meetings which had already taken place included economic matters, problems of social justice and of the fight against pathology, problems of strengthening the party ranks and their activity in the main areas of economy and of everyday life. At the same time, with the understanding of the economic situation and the needs of the market, party members made suggestions and postulates concerning the activization of their own activity.

Bialystok Province

The reports-elections meetings took place already in 1600 departmental and basic party organizations in Bialystok Province.

While the problems of industrial production and of the implementation of the economic reform dominated the discussion in city party organizations, the meetings in the villages devoted most attention to the problems of supplies available in the stores, the quality of mechanical services, land improvement, and the classification of milk. Problems of organization were also discussed,

especially as far as the fulfillment of statutory duties, the growth of party ranks, and the increased participation of party members in social life are concerned.

The first plant conferences took place in ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Yards] in Lapy, Bialystok Furniture Factory, and in the WPHW [Provincial Domestic Trade Enterprise]. During these meetings, following a discussion, programs of action were adopted and new authorities and delegates to city conferences were chosen. Among others, in the BZM, Stanislaw Stolarz, member of the Central Committee was once again elected the secretary of the plant committee.

The conference in WPHW took an interesting course. During a lively discussion which lasted several hours, attention focused especially on the attitudes of members employed in the trading establishments who have direct contact with the large number of clients, the implementation of the reform, the protection given to young employees, the cooperation with local industry and with the attempts to make services for the population more efficient.

Comrade Anna Dubrawska was chosen to first secretary of the plant committee.

Lomza Province

By yesterday, meetings had taken place in over 90 percent of the organizations. In addition, in the PZPR plant committee in the Particle Board Factory, the meeting of the plant reports-elections conference has already taken place. It was the first such conference in the province.

The discussions centered primarily on problems connected with investments: the construction or modernization of stores, schools, milk reception areas, and houses of culture. Many motions concern the improvements of work in the PK [State Motor Transport], WZSR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives] and other local firms acting on behalf of the villages and agriculture. These problems dominate the discussions in village organizations. In the cities, the discussions center on the supply problems and housing needs and on the functioning of trade. These issues were discussed, among others, by comrades from Zambrowo, Kolno, Grajewo, and Wysokie Mazowieckie. During the meetings in the Lomza Province, over 400 members and candidates for party membership had participated in the discussions. They addressed close to 560 motions to the local authorities and 130 motions to the provincial authorities.

There are however cases of "mute" meetings. The pronouncements of some comrades concern exclusively procedural matters or refer only to personal problems.

Almost 900 first secretaries of basic party organizations have been elected. Among them, over 33 percent will fulfill this role for the first time. Some comrades accept the suggestions of participating in the work of the executive boards with some resistance. It seems that this is dictated by the fear of accepting responsibility for very difficult tasks.

The continuing campaign is an occasion, as it was stated by one of the PZPR members from "Bawelna" in Zambrowo, to set internal party matters in order. This concerns above all the attitude towards those persons who cannot shake off their passivity and remain in the ranks of the party only as "dummies." A total of 127 such persons were eliminated from the party during the reports-elections meetings. Simultaneously, 27 candidates were accepted into the party.

The second stage of the campaign begins in Lomza Province next Saturday with gmina and city-gmina conferences. They will be inaugurated by the echelons from Pietnia, Wysokie Mazowieckie and Boguty. Nine more PZPR gmina conferences will take place on Sunday.

Suwalki Province

The reports-elections conferences in department party organizations and basic party organizations are also nearing an end in Suwalki Province. The greatest amount of time during the discussions was devoted to the effectiveness of party work in the cities and villages, above all in the productive sphere, which will decide the overcoming of the crisis. Criticism of passive attitudes of party members and groups was not lacking.

There was also criticism directed toward neglect in the area of working conditions of workers, for example, in construction. Participants in the discussion suggested that further improvements depend on the national effort in industry and agriculture and in other areas of activity. It is stressed that the role of party organizations is especially important in this consolidation.

Gmina conferences are going to begin any day. The first of these conferences took place in Orzysz.

Campaign at Gdansk Electronic Works

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 25 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Article by z.n.: "Unimor: The Positions of the Party Organization"]

[Text] Among the many topics and problems raised during the discussions taking place of critical self-evaluation of the activities of party organizations in the city, gmina, and at the workplace. Less is being said about achievements and accomplishments, and more about what needs to be done in order to raise the effectiveness of party work, to strengthen the link between the party and the society, especially the working class.

Topics involving the improvement of party work as well as economic and production problems dominated the discussions at the 12th reports-elections conference of the PZPR in the Unimor Gdansk Electronic Plant, which took place yesterday with the participation of secretary of the PZPR provincial committee, Leon Brancewicz, the mayor of the city of Gdansk, Kazimierz Rynkowski, and secretary of PZPR district committee, Marek Socha.

The plant party organization which at present has 241 members and candidates for membership has gone through a difficult period. Between August 1980 and December 1981 it was under the pressure of antisocialist groups. As a result of breakdown, ideological confusion and for other reasons, 160 members left the organization. At present, the plant party organization is regaining its ideological and organizational identity and the authority and trust of its milieu.

The party in Unimor became less numerous, but it is more cohesive and disciplined. The discussion emphasized that the effort to animate party groups has to be intensified. Their active role in the milieu has to increase in order for the party to have greater influence. Much was said also about the necessity of raising the level of party training, of the propagation of the knowledge of Marxism and Leninism among the members of the party. There were calls for the elaboration of a long-term program of ideological and educational work. The need to improve the circulation of intraparty information was also mentioned.

Thanks to the work and involvement of the plant party organization, the sociopolitical situation in the plant is systematically improving. The workers self-management has been rebuilt, a trade union has been created, the plant cell of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] has gained trust and authority by working towards an understanding. Already, approximately 370 belong to the trade union and new members are constantly joining it. Still, many employees continue to treat the trade union with caution. It was pointed out that the party organization has a responsibility to support the union, self-management and PRON, as those structures which form the basis for the democratization of life.

Winning over the youth to the program of the party constitutes an important problem. Thus, closer cooperation with the local youth organization becomes indispensable. The ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] organization in Unimor has 150 members, but only about a dozen are really active, according to the chairman. A certain number of party members and candidates are also members of the ZSMP. They all joined before 1980; after this period not a single young person has joined the party. Many causes account for this state of affairs. As a result, young people still have a passive attitude, avoiding an involvement in social activities. Since young people constitute a large percentage of the work force in Unimor, the overcoming of these attitudes is one of the most important problems for the plant party organization.

The discussion centered for quite a long time on the issues of increasing economic efficiency. It was shown that the road towards this goal leads presently only through the growth of work productivity, the improvement of the quality of products and the lowering of the costs of production. Although Unimor is successfully completing its production goals for this year, and will most likely be able to exceed them, still, an increase in economic efficiency will be possible in the future only thanks to these factors.

New authorities of the PZPR plant committee and delegates for the regional PZPR conference were elected. Henryk Olchawa was elected first secretary of the PZPR plant committee.

× Yesterday, reports-elections conferences in Gdansk Province took place also in the Cedry Wielkie gmina (with the participation of secretary of the provincial committee Mieczyslaw Stefanski), on the plant level, in the PGO Malinowo (with the participation of the director of the department of cadres in the provincial committee, Anna Szalach), and on the school level, in the Marine College (with the participation of secretary of the provincial committee Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska).

We are also publishing the names of the first secretaries elected the day before yesterday during the reports-elections conferences: in KG [gmina committee] Linia--Grzegorz Pestka, in the Gdansk Refinery--Zdzislaw Nowakowski, in the Gdansk Provincial Office--Jan Pelowski, in PPIUR Szkuner in Wladyslawow--Henryk Peplinski, in the Gdansk Medical Academy--Czeslaw Wojcicki.

Objective Criticism, Increased Activity

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 26-27 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (Cyb.) and (hb)]

[Text] Problems involving the communities in which individual party organizations are active are among the main topics raised during the reports-elections campaign of PZPR. In large industry these are the issues of productivity and of the implementation of the new economic mechanisms; in the agricultural communities, the problems discussed most often included the profitability of agricultural production, development of local road network, land improvement, and improvements of supplies; in education, at issue are the attitudes and the authority of teachers in the educational process.

Yesterday, successive reports-elections conferences took place.

Sztutow: Authority of the Party in the Community

The first secretary of the provincial committee in Elblag, Jerzy Prusiecki, and the chairman of the provincial audit commission [WKR], Jozef Makowski, participated in the gmina conference in Sztutow.

The meeting demonstrated that during the previous terms of office, despite numerous difficulties, the party was able to consolidate its ranks, even though the work of the Sztutow party organization still suffers from some shortcomings.

The gmina organization presently has 312 members. Although its membership declined by 77 persons, growth in the party ranks was also noted during the present year. During the most recent period, party members behaved in a highly disciplined manner and protected the authority of the party in the community.

During the discussion, liberalism which occurs in the basic party organizations and the low level of activity of some comrades were critically evaluated. The need of rejuvenating the organization and of including young people in the political work in the villages were also mentioned. It was emphasized that a noticeable improvement has occurred in the area of intraparty information. Further improvements are still needed, however. Lecturers from the PZPR provincial committee must play an important role in this.

Provincial and higher authorities were requested to treat with more concern the problem of fire insurance in the gmina, the threat from "the plague of poaching in the extraction of amber," the conclusion of the process of settling the accounts with people responsible for the present crisis in the country, the limitation of the trade of goods intended for newly married couples.

The resolution mentions the necessity of paying greater attention to ideological training and counteracting hostile propaganda.

New authorities of the PZPR gmina committee were elected; the function of first secretary was again entrusted to Krzysztof Mrowka.

Tczew Polmo: The Consolidation of Ranks

The quality and unity of party ranks and their links to the work force constituted the main problems discussed during the reports-elections conference of the plant party organization in the Polmo Automobile Transmission Factory in Tczew. The conference took place yesterday with the participation of secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Gdansk Bogdan Daszkiewicz and first secretary of the PZPR city committee in Tczew, Zygmunt Grabowski.

The Tczew Polmo factory has a monopoly in the country in the building of transmissions for buses and trucks. Both the report of the retiring executive board and the discussion stressed that the more resilient and coherent the plant party organization and the greater its influence over the entire work force, the better will be the fulfillment of socioeconomic tasks.

During the preceding difficult period, the party organization lost 238 members. It was emphasized, however, that despite this the plant organization is presently more cohesive and qualitatively better. Nevertheless, the increase in activity during the most recent period was not accompanied by a full realization of all the tasks. Informational and propaganda activity needs to be raised to a higher level. All department party organizations should systematically make all the members account for the tasks they were individually made responsible for, and they should also react quickly and effectively to all signs of criticism and to the complaints of the work force.

The implementation of the economic reform also demands greater involvement.

The plant party organization has numerous achievements, the most important among them was its significant role in the activization of the trade union and self-management movement and the activization of the ZSMP plant board.

A congratulatory letter by Central Committee Politburo candidate member first secretary of the provincial committee in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger, transmitted to the first secretary of the plant committee, Roman Lewalski, was an expression of recognition for the achievements of the party organization.

During the discussion, there were postulates to raise the level of activity of rank and file members of the party in the area of improving the efficiency of management and of the elimination of waste. The need to gain young employees for the PZPR program and the continuation of activities aimed at maintaining the quality of the plant party organization were also mentioned.

New authorities of the PZPR plant committee were elected, as were the delegates to the PZPR city conference. Roman Lewalski was reelected as first secretary of the PZPR plant committee.

At the end of the conference, a resolution specifying the tasks for the plant party organization for the new term of office was adopted.

In the provincial organization in Gdansk, reports-elections conferences took place yesterday in the PZPR gmina committees in Osieki, Szemundy and in the plant committee of the PGR [state farm] Nowa Wies. Provincial committee secretaries Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska and Mieczyslaw Stefanski, and Jozef Pienkowski from the agricultural department of the provincial committee, took part in these conferences.

In Elblag Province, a conference was held in the KMG [city-gmina committee] in Susze with the participation of provincial committee secretary Tadeusz Osko.

During the conferences, which took place on November 24, as first secretaries were elected: in the gmina committee in Cedry Wielkie--Miroslaw Wierzchon, in the plant committee in PGO Malinowo--Jozef Kolasinski and in the school committee in the Marina College in Gdynia--Zbigniew Rachwald.

In Susze (Elblag Province), Tadeusz Szczepaniak was chosen again as the first secretary of the PZPR KMG.

12495

CSO: 2600/391

PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN REPORTED

Municipal, Gmina, Plant Conferences

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by HS: "This Concerns All of Us"]

[Text] At PZPR reports-election conferences, equal consideration was given to ideological and socioeconomic party internal problems having the most essential meaning to cities, city-gminas, gminas and plants.

In Siewierz, the inadequacies in transportation to other localities were extensively discussed. This problem can only be resolved by extending some of the WPK [Provincial Transportation Enterprise] lines within the gmina. The participants also brought up the project abandoned by the provincial authorities, which was to merge three separate dolomite stone mining enterprises operating on gmina lands. Since these are under the jurisdiction of different ministries, there are complications in coordinating their efforts, which also makes it impossible to undertake joint ecological protection activities.

At the PZPR gmina conference in Zarnowiec, in the program for next term projects, particular attention was given to the necessity of intensifying farm production. Precise schedules were drawn up for land reclamation and road construction, as well as timetables for completion or initiation of essential renovations and required expenditures.

The economic standing of the Feliks Dzierzynski Foundry at Dabrowa Gornicza was favorably evaluated in the course of the reports-elections conference. The necessity for active participation by the party in the process of initiating economic reforms was emphasized. This should be accomplished with the aid of educational efforts directed toward personnel efficiencies and socio-vocational discipline. Individual OOP's [branch party organizations] were obligated to carry out designated assignments specified in the economy and anti-inflation programs within the allotted time period.

Participants at many of the conferences voiced their concern over the proliferation of international threat. For example, the party organization at the Bumar-Fablok Machine Building and Locomotive Works in Chrzanow directed a

resolution to the Council of State which states: "The imperialist armament and confrontation policies of the United States and countries of Western Europe are aimed against all of us. We do not want to live under the threat of nuclear war. We demand peace for all children, for ourselves and for the millions of people on earth. We express our support for those who are advocating disarmament and the maintenance of political order in Europe, the actions of the Polish People's Republic and brotherly socialist nations."

The party organization of the Bobrek Mine in Bytom directed a similar appeal to the All-Polish Committee for the Preservation of Peace.

PZPR reports-elections conferences were held yesterday in Bobrowniki Wielowski, at the Wieczorek Mine in Katowice and the PKP railroad terminal at Tarnowskie Gory.

Participating in the plant conference of the Paris Commune Shipyards in Gdynia were Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee in Gdansk; Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The open and polemic discussions which lasted for many hours focused on the party organization's work at the shipyards. As mentioned, its guiding light should be the principle of conformity in substance with the political and economic policies and the accord of actions with pronouncements.

Gdansk Campaign

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 30 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article]

[Text] Yesterday, 97 delegates representing a 631-member group of the party plant organization attended the reports-elections conference at the Heroes of Westerplatte Northern Shipyards in Gdansk.

Attending the deliberations, among others, were Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR provincial committee [KW] in Gdansk; Bohdan Daszkiewicz, secretary of the KW; Adam Misiurny, first secretary of the PZPR Gdansk-Port city district committee.

In the name of the retiring leadership, the first secretary of the PZPR plant committee, Zbigniew Ciok, read the report. He described the efforts of the shipyard party organization in the difficult complicated past years. The party emerged triumphant from these trials, better united and disciplined. However, there are still some passive members within the organization who show little involvement. The speaker emphasized that there is no room in the party for disinterested individuals just biding their time. Stanislaw Stateczny, director of the shipyards, stated in his address that in the current year there have been 200,000 unjustified absentee man-hours recorded.

This throws off the work rhythm of the whole establishment and the rest of the crew suffers the consequences. The speaker told about the realizations of this year's plans and spoke about the progress made in implementing economic reforms.

In the discussions many remarks centered on matters dealing with party activities in the shipyard area and also on internal problems. Questions were raised concerning actions required to regain the confidence of the working class. The obstacles in this endeavor are the recurring occasions of violated principles of social justice, with some individuals benefiting at the expense of the working people. In just such violations of basic political system principles the speaker sought reasons for our sociopolitical crisis.

Remarks of those attending referred also to matters connected with work at the shipyard. Mentioned were a series of negative conclusions, such as poor work planning, particularly in the process engineering and production departments. In reality, the anti-inflation and economic shop programs are not always followed. Representatives of the trade unions taking the floor brought attention to the need of thorough adherence to safe and sanitary working conditions and improved care for pensioned and retired workers. Mentioned also were problems connected with the residential housing constructions for employees, pointing out incidents of wasteful material and tool usage.

In the course of the discussions, S. Bejger took the floor, concentrating on the most meaningful topics, and gave a favorable evaluation for the activities of the shipyard organization.

At the close of the deliberations a 29-person shop committee was elected. The position of first secretary was entrusted to Zbigniew Ciok. Additionally, four delegates to the provincial conference were elected, among them the PZPR KW secretary B. Daszkiewicz, and another 17 delegates to the district conference.

In Gdansk Province

Report-elections conferences were held yesterday in Gdansk Province and also in Stezyca and Kolbudy gminas, the shop party organizations at the Nauta Shipyard in Gdynia, in the Tczew plant Predom-Metrix, as well as at the Downtown Educational Center in Gdansk. Attending the conference were secretaries of the PZPR KW in Gdansk Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska, Mieczyslaw Chabowski, Leon Brancewicz, Mieczyslaw Stefanski, and member of the executive board of the KW Jerzy Andrzejewski, together with the chairman of the WKKP [Provincial Party Control Committee], Adam Jablonski.

At the PKP Railroad Terminal in Kwidzyn

The Kwidzyn PKP terminal conference convened with an attendance of 40 delegates.

In the reports and discussions were mentioned the achievements and shortcomings in the ideological, organizational and economic functions. Attention was focused on POP [basic party organization] and PZPR plant committee initiatives particularly in the area of improvements in working conditions at the PKP stations at Prabuty, Kwidzyna and Sztuma, as well as at the started construction of institutional buildings. As a result of these improvements, in the first quarter of 1984, a new apartment structure for 20 railworkers' families will be made available in Kwidzyn and plans are being developed to begin similar projects in Susza, Prabuty, Sztuma and Kwidzyna. Also through party efforts there is an improvement in health care for the railroad personnel and a plan for expanding the outpatient facility in Kwidzyna.

The participants also involved themselves in matters relating to the possibilities for improving railroad travel, some of which would be better housekeeping, esthetics, railcar heating and on-time railroad schedules. A proposition was put forward to pay more attention to more efficient utilization of railcars, conduct a modernization of the boarding platforms and station buildings at Kwidzyna and Susza, as well as the delivery docks at Ryjewo and Sztuma. New party authorities were elected. The function of the first secretary of the PZPR plant committee was once again entrusted to Henryk Maj.

Elblag Province

Yesterday, reports-elections conferences were also held in Elblag Province, in the gmina of Elblag, at which the first secretary of the PZPR gmina committee [KG], Stanislaw Kocemba, was reelected and also in the gmina of Lichnowy, which secretary Leszek Witkiewicz of the PZPR KW of Elblag attended. Bogdan Kakol was reelected as first secretary of the KG. Jozef Sliwka was reelected as first secretary of the PZPR KG at the gmina conference in Miloradz.

The reports-elections conference was also held at the Elblag Automobile Repair Works. Kazimierz Guzowski was reelected as first secretary of the plant committee.

Opole Ending Campaign

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 30 Nov 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Andrzej Szatan: "Factual Discussion. Good Attendance"]

[Text] The first stage of the reports-elections campaign is coming to a close. The majority of the branch and basic party organizations of our province have already elected their new authorities and delegates to the plant, gmina or city-gmina conferences.

The meetings at the level of plant committees [KZ] are far advanced. They will be terminated on 9 December with the conference of the PZPR KZ at the Malapanew Foundry in Ozimek. Last Saturday at Pawlowiczkach, a campaign was inaugurated at the gmina committee level. Next Friday, new authorities will

be elected in Lubniany and on Saturday in Popielow, Kamienniku and Lasowice. This stage of the campaign will terminate on 21 December, with the conference in Tarnow Opolski. In the territorial activities of the PZPR city committee [KM] in Kedzierzyna-Kozlu, the reports-elections meetings have been held at all 103 OOP's and POP's, and at the end of the week they will be completed at the plant committee level. Yesterday, as the first one in town, a reports-elections conference was held at the PZPR KZ in the Kedzierzyn-Kozlu PKP terminal. The first secretary of the PZPR KM, Stefan Ziola, participated in the deliberations. The discussions centered on the area of internal party subjects. Ideas were sought to find a more efficient format and methods for party influence in the community and its contributions to the economy. Many speakers pointed out the deficiencies in trade and service policies as well as in the communal economy of the city,

New PZPR KZ leadership for the Kedzierzyn-Kozlu PKP terminal was elected. Reelected to the post of first secretary was Ryszard Paduszynski.

At the city conference scheduled for 15 December, there will be 27 delegates selected to the provincial conference. An additional five will receive KZ mandates.

Attendance at the meetings was good. Deputy director of ROPP [regional party work center], Leslaw Reterski, stated that an average of 80 percent attended, but there were some organizations that could boast of a 100 percent membership participation. This was the case at elementary school No 4 and No 15, in J. Krasicki high school and H. Sienkiewicz high school, in the vocational schools collective, the second division of the Polish National Bank and in the Klodnica Agricultural Circles Cooperative. However, not all OOP's and POP's were successful in launching their meetings on the originally designated dates (eight postponements).

From among the branch and basic organization first secretaries elected, 50 percent are new people and 20 percent are laborers who have been entrusted with this function. Many of them have also entered into the ranks of the executive board, where the personnel composition has gone through quite a change (60 percent of them are new). Discussions were centered on internal party matters. Mentioned was the need of a recruitment drive to increase membership). The effectiveness of the government's economy and anti-inflation programs were also evaluated. Some of the remarks referred to the labor unions and the party members' involvement in them.

In the town and gmina of Brzeg there are 4 plant committees, 93 POP's and 40 OOP's. According to the information presented by the organizational secretary of the PZPR city-gmina committee [KMG], Dionizy Daszynski, at the KZ level the campaign has already been completed and by 30 November all of the reports-elections campaigns at the basic organizations will have been held. Up to the present time, only in a few instances had the originally designated meeting opening date been postponed because of poor attendance. What is odd about this is the fact that there were no difficulties of this kind at the rural organizations. Generally, we have no reservations regarding attendance,

which turns out to be higher than we have expected. As an example, Agromet showed 95 percent and Besel 91 percent. In the opinion of D. Daszynski, at the first-mentioned establishment and at Garbarnia the reports-elections conferences were conducted in an exemplary manner. From among the POP's at the present time, the highest ratings should be given to the Odra party organization, Zwyciestwo Invalid Cooperative and to Meprozet.

Describing the proceedings of the deliberations, the KMG secretary stated: "First of all, these were not discussions riddled with elements of criticism as they were during the former term. Actually, the analysis of our own backyard was in the forefront. Some of the staffs vehemently argued for internal party discipline, since in our echelon there were months in which we were unable to conduct a POP meeting. Consideration was given for a method for gaining authority over the independent segment of the workers by party organizations, for ways to strengthen PZPR ties with youth organizations as well as the role in the plant of OOP's and party groups.

During the course of the reports-elections meetings in gminas six candidates joined the ranks of the PZPR. Evaluation of the campaign proceedings was performed by the KMG plenum yesterday. Material for the city-gmina conference was also approved.

In Zdzeszowice, of the 12 POP and 25 OOP meetings planned, all have been completed. The plant party organization of the local coke plant also completed its elections and conference yesterday. For total completion of the campaign, the city-gmina conference scheduled for 6 December is the only one remaining.

First secretary of the PZPR KMG Mieczyslaw Wloch states: "The proceedings of the campaign were very orderly. This can be attested by the fact that all meetings were held within the originally stipulated schedules with a relatively good attendance averaging from 85 to 90 percent. The most important matters discussed were roads, lighting, renovations and the problems of everyday living. Sensible and judiciously weighed constructive opinions were predominant. New first secretaries were elected in 2 of the 12 OOP's. This means that experienced people who have gone through the most difficult period of the party's existence have been given a vote of confidence, while young people enter into executive positions."

In Cisk, the first secretary of the PZPR KG Jan Niebylski informs that the reports-elections conferences for the most part were conducted within the earlier programmed schedule and therefore according to plan. The only places where the schedules had to be altered were at Koblynice and Blazejowice. At the 12 POP's operating at gmina locations, in 5 instances the positions of first secretary have been given to new comrades. In the course of meetings which varied in attendance (the highest was at RSP Miejsce Odrzanskie, SUR and UG Cisek and POP Lany-Wies), there was much discussion about party discipline. Several comrades were expelled from the ranks of the PZPR for not abiding by the rules. According to the opinion of the speaker, methods and formats of party indoctrination have to be improved. The gmina reports-elections conference in Cisk will be held on 9 December.

Criticism, Optimism in Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 1 Dec 83 pp 1,2

[Article]

[Text] The reports-elections party conference in the Wloclawok Table Ceramic Works [WCKS] was held with the participation of Artur Kwiatkowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee and the first secretary of the PZPR KW in Wloclawek, Krystian Luczak.

The year's end gave many of the comrades the opportunity not only to summarize their factory's political, but also its economic achievements. From this angle, then, the problems arising in instituting economic reforms and plant expansions were stressed. Many shortcomings in work processing and the still-existing weakness in motivations for improvements of quality and production were pointed out. In the meantime, the debaters claimed that by making internal alert plant moves, we can solve these problems ourselves. Since at WKCS women constitute the majority of the work force, in the course of the meeting there were frequent remarks relating to basic food and product supplies, including pricing. In answer to these questions, Comrades Artur Kwiatkowski and Krystian Luczak stressed the fact that at this point the most important objective of the party is the healing of the national economy. When this is accomplished, the basic needs of the workers will be satisfied. These claims are borne out by the decisions of the 14th Plenum of the party's Central Committee.

Comrade Krzysztof Grzadziel was unanimously reelected to the post of first secretary.

An exceptional responsibility rests upon party members in health services. It results to an equal degree from professional accountability and the political functions of the PZPR at the work place. This has been mentioned numerous times during the regional PZPR Wloclawek health service conference. Trustees of specific OOP managements of the "white service" and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wojciech Ledwochowski participated in the conference. It was stated that the quality and availability of medical services depends in great measure upon the health service workers themselves. The party organization should inspire and control the traits of these activities. In doing this you cannot overlook the real conditions which complicate daily obligations, some of which are: shortage of supplies, delays in staffing or capital expenditures, particularly in provincial hospitals. There are many solutions requiring no monetary outlay, but their realizations are dependent upon the approval of specific professional institutions. In the course of the conference, the necessity for further development of labor unions which would fulfill the expectations of all Wloclawek's health services was indicated.

The post of first secretary of the KZ was entrusted to Jerzy Baczynski, who is the administrator of the Klobce Gmina Health Center.

At the reports-elections conference in Bukowiec, 57 delegates represented 365 members and candidates of the PZPR. Among those attending was comrade

Malgorzata Skonieczna, chairman of the PZPR Provincial Audit Commission. Social and economic achievements of the party in the gmina were evaluated both in the report and the discussions. A new bakery satisfying the requirements of the residents was built with an expenditure of over 30 million zlotys. Construction of a liquid fuel station at the local SKR is in progress. Much work has been accomplished in the construction of roads and streets, particularly in Bukowice and Swiekatow. The local trade indicators have also shown an improvement. However, the agricultural community is continuing to feel water shortages at the farms, especially in the villages of Branka, Jania Gora, Korytowo and Zalesie Krolewskie, at which locations it is necessary to sink deep wells or provide a water system. At the conference much attention was directed to problems connected with party expansion and the cooperation of POP's with branches of the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] at the gminas. Marian Schroder was reelected first secretary of the PZPR KG and as delegates to the provincial conference Comrades Malgorzata Skonieczna, Stefan Lewicki and Alojzy Rzeznikowski were elected.

In summarizing the events of the expired term, participants of the gmina-city reports-election conference in Czersk determined which of the projects having an influence on the gmina's progress should be continued for the next few years. These are: the expansion of school No 2 and construction of water and sewage systems. In the area of internal party matters, positive tendencies and indications worthy of support are actions of the PZPR organization for intensification of all member activities, solidification of their ideological unanimity and the expansion of membership.

It is necessary to improve attendance and also to enhance the character of the meetings. More support and assistance than heretofore, according to the comrades, is required by PZPR elements in rural areas. Undoubtedly, the attainment of these goals will assist in the fulfillment of the Ninth Congress resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee's plenary sessions. There are youth organization projects at gmina locations requiring more cooperation than has been shown up to the present time. The most important ones are assistance for young people in resolving their social problems and, secondly, attracting representatives of this generation to the party ranks.

The participants issued an appeal for peace addressed to all working people in which they oppose reactionary forces, revenge and aggression. They mention the need for an awareness of the imperialistic policies of armament and the insane attempts to push the world into the chasm of atomic war.

During the conference of the city-gmina authorities Rajmund Mietki was reelected first secretary. Delegation mandates were entrusted to comrades Zbigniew Derwichow Rajmund Mietki, Jan Skwark, Witold Stachowiak and Zygmunt Tylicki.

12306
CSO: 2600/410

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Party Reports-Elections Campaign

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 p 2

/Article by Krystyna Wojtylak-Radwaniecka: "It Is Impossible To Move Towards Goal if Faith Is Lacking That It Can Be Reached"

/Text/ The city-gmina party reports-elections campaign conference took place in Morag with almost 100 percent of its members attending. Among the 132 delegates, representing 1,400 members of the Morag party organization, was also Mieczyslaw Kubicki, the chairman of the Provincial Party Control Commission. He received his mandate to attend from one of the basic party organizations /POP/. Zenon Pawlowski, the first secretary of the former city-gmina committee, reported to the conference.

Both the report and the discussion, during which 21 comrades spoke, aimed at completing an honest evaluation of the term of office now ending and drew from its experiences ideas for the future.

As is known, this was not an easy period for the party of the nation. But even in this difficult time, the process of consolidating the party's ranks and the purging of these ranks of people who were weak and ideologically unsteady, or who lacked the strength to stand up forcibly to the challenges facing the party, was accomplished. This process also took place in Morag's party organization. During the past term of office, 350 people were either expelled from the party or saw their names removed from the party's rolls. Especially characteristic for this was the fact that only four of the above cases were the result of action by the Party Control Commission; the other 346 were handled by the POP itself.

This painful experience has resulted in the fact that new people are currently accepted into the party in a more careful manner. We want to replenish our ranks, but with people of substance. This is what the comrades from the Morag organization emphasized. Indeed,

statistics are not the key here, but honest action. The Morag organization has adopted the principle that every party member receives a specific task for the completion of which he must answer.

The city-gmina committee adopted the very same principle for itself, namely, scrupulously to delineate a program for action based on the resolutions of higher echelons and those which it passes itself and then scrupulously to reckon with itself as to the results. Does this mean that all are now working impeccably? No. This was mentioned critically and sincerely at the conference. The poor activity of the Agricultural Commission and the Commission on Young Adults, both of which operate with the city-gmina committee, was cited, as were examples from the POP where efforts are not quite what they should be.

If we take the matter of new members for the party, then last year saw a substantial growth in their number. Whereas there were only 2 new members for all of 1981 and 6 for 1982, the end of October 1983 saw 21 new names added to the party's rolls. Five of these new members received their membership cards in a ceremony at the conference.

One of the issues most strongly stressed by many speakers was the demand to activate ideological training. In the opinion of the speakers, this training should be conducted by well-educated lecturers; these lecturers should be able to discuss those subjects which interest society, in a language simple and intelligible to everyone. People not connected to the party also need to be invited to this training.

People also pointed out that during the last term of office, the flow of information improved considerably--and in both directions, from the upper echelons to the bottom as well as from the lowest elements to the top. But even here considerable improvement must take place. The POP secretaries were not always punctual in passing materials which they had received out to the members of their organizations. People also complained that only one issue of *NOWE DROGI*, which contained materials from a commission appointed by the Central Committee to research the causes of the crisis, made it to Morag.

Comrade Pawlowski affirmed in his report: "Our committee tried to represent correctly the interests of working people and to execute its service role towards them. It did not mean to replace the administration, but carefully to investigate the sources of mistakes and advise as to their removal."

It is to the city-gmina committee that people come with their requests for help and intervention when other efforts are exhausted. During the past term of office, 496 people came personally to the committee, while 74 wrote out their problems and hundreds contacted the committee

by telephone. All were answered. The POP itself directed more than 236 suggestions to its city-gmina committee echelon. These suggestions covered a multitude of subjects. Only 35 of these suggestions were passed on to higher officials. This generally lightened the load on those working for the committee. The same thing happened with the suggestions from the POP during the final reports-elections meetings. Of the 42 suggestions made, only 4 were passed on to higher echelons.

Much attention was focused during the discussion on economic issues. The POP delegates from individual enterprises described the type of problems their plants currently face in the crisis, but they also informed the conference about what they were doing to lower production costs and increase production itself. The discussion participants demanded that those producers who often turned out products at twice the cost of others be carefully examined. A delegate from the party organization of Morag's state farm spoke of the exorbitant prices and poor quality of industrial goods meant for agricultural production. For a tractor tire, which often takes months to arrive, one has to pay the equivalent of a wheat field harvest. A speaker presented the comprehensive program of his enterprise to improve remunerativeness and increase production. He also pointed out the difficulties resulting from ever-changing decisions at the top which cover socialist agriculture. He stated: "The dedication of our work forces is great. People do not count the hours, they do not consider the poor weather, but if industry continues to raise the prices of farm equipment without worrying about quality and not bearing any of the responsibility, then we are going to be eating plows and not bread."

There is not enough space to recount the many subjects covered in the report or lively discussion. However, it must be stressed that considerably more was said about how people here overcome difficulties with their own efforts. When there is a lack of financial means, it becomes a social issue and people do not complain about the inadequacies. For instance, a preschool has been built and new investments are planned. Moreover, the whole discussion was practical and supported by specific examples.

Only one speaker, and he was effective as a speaker, spoke incorrectly. He spoke of a decline in morality and about the problems courageous people continue to have fighting for morality. But he failed to support his argument with anything specific; he was even questioned with regard to facts.

It seems that sincerity was no luxury at this conference. Names were mentioned and personal accusations were made. Beyond the issue of whether the accusations were totally just or not, there is the fact that they were made openly and courageously. This says something positive about the atmosphere in the Morag organization. It is a pity that the comrade who injected such important subjects as morality and courage could not have demonstrated the same.

In closing the proceedings, Comrade Mieczyslaw Kubicki informed the conference about the course of the province's reports-elections campaign. He highly appraised the Morag conference and its maturity. In turning to more general matters, he emphasized that we must draw conclusions from all the crises we experience, but not something which impedes our march forward or the forwarding of the accomplishments of 40 years of People's Poland. He stated that one cannot aim for a goal without believing that it is attainable.

The conference delegates elected a new 41-man party city-gmina committee with 30 new comrades; only 11 were reelected. Zenon Pawlowski remained first secretary. Mieczyslaw Wisniewski remained the chairman of the new audit commission and Stanislaw Ciama became chairman of the control commission.

An election of delegates to the provincial reports-election conference was also held. The delegates are: Mieczyslaw Borzymowski, Czeslaw Jastrzebski, Kazimierz Jedrzejewski, Jan Kaleta, Mieczyslaw Kubicki, Kazimierz Kruss, Teodozy Marcinkiewicz, Krystyna Nowakowska, Jerzy Nowaszczuk, Zenon Pawlowski and Marian Szumowski.

Party Conferences of Local Echelons

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 p 3

/Article by (ZG): "There Is No Deviation From the Policies of the Ninth Party Congress"

/Text/ From 30 November through 2 December 1983, delegates' conferences deliberated in Zielona Gora. The delegates were from the local echelons of Czerwiensk, Wymiarki, Oryn, Bobrovice, Swiebodzin and Bytom Odrzanski. New officials were elected and an activities program for the next term of office was designated. The discussion concentrated on the implementation of regional socioeconomic programs and on ideological and general social problems. The comrades stressed that the party does not deviate and cannot deviate from the policies set forth by its Ninth Congress. The internal economic determining factors, which are far from normal, the aggravation of the international situation, and the results of the West's economic restrictions against Poland cannot change the just policies of the party, whose slogan is the socialist rebirth of sociopolitical life and the realization of a radical economic reform--without regard to inhibitions and obstacles.

Bernard Tomys was reelected first secretary of the gmina committee at the gmina conference in Siedlce. The delegates to the party provincial conference were: Leon Czajewski, the chairman of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy /ZBoWiP/; Andrzej Milolajczak, director of the collective gmina school; Alojzy Piatek, farmer; Stanislaw Piosik, gmina manager; Jan Rubaszewski, secretary of the party provincial committee in Zielona Gora; and Bernard Tomys.

Much of the discussion was taken up with the problems of ideological-political efforts in the community and the shortcomings in the administrative-economic service of the province's most important agricultural gmina. Directed to the authorities were a number of suggestions on accelerating the settlement of a host of issues, including the issue of the disappearance of six proposals on rent at the Social Security Agency.

Ernestyna Adamska was elected first secretary at the city-gmina conference in Slawa. The delegates to the provincial conference were: Bogdan Slusarz, director of the Regional Center for Party Work; Alicja Marszalek, deputy director of the collective gmina school; Adolf Laska, director of the agricultural works; Klaudiusz Balcerzak, chairman of the gmina cooperative; and Franciszek Opiela, manager of the city and gmina.

Besides the problems of educating young people and internal party issues, the discussion focused considerable attention on environmental protection, including an acceleration of the construction of a sewage treatment facility, and the drainage and protection of Slawa Lake from the pollution caused by tourists. Jerzy Dabrowski, the party provincial committee first secretary, presented the position of the provincial echelon in satisfying the important requirements and aspirations of Slawa. The conference passed a resolution protesting the intensification of the nuclear arms race by the present U.S. administration and appealed for widespread support for the disarmament aims of the socialist community.

Stanislaw Goc was again elected first secretary by the city-plant reports-elections conference in Gozdnica. The delegates to the provincial conference were Stanislaw Goc and Stanislaw Sobia. Above all, they talked about the problems of party political work, emphasizing that up until now the cooperation with trade unions, self-government and enterprise directors was not shaping up positively for their area. Of all the economic problems discussed, the most important ones that needed to be settled were the establishment of a housing cooperative, the installation of natural gas and the mitigation of activity harmful to the environment on the part of chimney smoke resulting from the production of ceramic items in local factories.

Party Campaign Sincerity

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 p 3

/Interview with Jozef Bogdanowicz, first secretary of the party plant committee of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, by Wlodzimierz Wodecki:
"A Campaign of Sincerity"/

/Text/ The party organization of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk is the most important party organization in Gdansk Province because of its political significance. On 10 December 1983, a party reports-election conference will take place in this organization. For this reason, we asked the first secretary of the plant committee, Comrade Jozef Bogdanowicz, to grant us an interview on the course of the reports-elections campaign and the preparations for the conference in party groups and branch organizations.

/Question/ Right now, what is the greatest problem of the shipyard organization?

/Answer/ Our social composition. Our organization numbers 1,985 members and candidates who work in 40 basic party organizations /POP/ and 116 party groups. But there are only 978 comrades in this association who are workers. The extension of our organization among the workers is a basic problem which made an impact on the reports-elections campaign and became one of our tasks. The workers' core of our organization needs to be larger and have more members, inasmuch as this has an impact on the political climate in the shipyard organization. I want to be clearly understood: among those comrades who are not workers, there are many expert specialists and production engineers who are people of substance affiliated with the party and who work alongside the workers. But we are obliged by certain statistical principles, and according to them we have less than a thousand people who work directly in production. It is also time that those proportions should change in coming years.

/Question/ Are not these changes already occurring throughout the shipyard organization?

/Answer/ Of course! And our high marks are shown by the acceptance into the ranks of party candidates during the last 3 months of 16 young workers. There are other signs as well. For instance, during the campaign 42 new party groups were elected, including 25 which were made up of a majority of workers. Of the 160 members of the POP executive board, 95 are workers. Maybe it is a bit early to say that these changes are the beginning of a clear trend, the best beginning of a positive process. However, it is a fact that we are already seeing these changes and that it is the task of the new party officials not only to maintain this momentum, but also to continue with the changes.

The current campaign is basically a turning point for our organization. In the first place, we have halted the exodus of workers from the party's ranks. This is very important. Movement in the opposite direction has now begun and our new worker candidates prove this. This is the result of the ongoing political and social stabilization in the Lenin Shipyard.

/Question/ How else is this stabilization being demonstrated?

/Answer/ This is a difficult question and the answer could sound very flimsy. However, it is a fact that the members of our organization feel much better presently than they did years ago, and not only because they are not attacked politically anymore. On the contrary, they are attacking. Right now, our comrades have a considerably more impressive number of political arguments than they did a year or two ago. They are not politically on the defensive as they recently were. For this reason, they feel more confident.

On the other hand, the situation in the shipyard's administrative structures has changed and people have become convinced of the need to criticize sharply everything which does not please them at the shipyard--and not only at the shipyard. And there is a great deal of criticizing. Meanwhile, I also believe that one argument in our favor is that during the current campaign there was no problem in acquiring personnel for party positions, beginning with secretaries and ending with members of the executive boards. No one refused to take on the difficult and often thankless responsibility. For this reason, after the elections in party groups and the POP's, we now have party personnel who really are impressive and tied to the party and the shipyard. They are comrades on whom we can count. They are all elements which indirectly confirm the thesis concerning the consolidation of the party and its organizational structures in the shipyard.

/Question/ You were saying something about the large number of political arguments available to rank-and-file party members. Is this really the case at the shipyard? I am familiar with many organizations and admit that various things can happen with this political ammunition.

/Answer/ Quite a bit of different information reaches our organization from the provincial committee. Much of it is really quite valuable. We pass it on down to the POP secretaries and hope that they will pass it on to the other party members. Here, unfortunately, one must say that various things do happen with this information. The information is received by those people who are more deeply interested in the problems of politics. However, I will risk saying that the circulation of this political-informational material is too often held up by a POP secretary, sometimes by a party group. This is the next problem which needs to be solved during the upcoming term of office.

Another aspect of getting the information to the rank and file are various kinds of lecturers, especially those from the provincial committee. Nowadays, it is not enough to read a few lines from the text of a party brochure before an auditorium full of workers.

The lecturers have to be clever people who can argue effectively and can answer--convincingly--any questions asked by the workers. Just such experienced lecturers are provided to us by the provincial committee. If we are talking about the cooperation of our plant committee with the provincial echelon, then it is going well, and that applies as much to the comrades in the provincial committee who deal with problems of propaganda and information as to the Organization Department, where the workers have helped and continually help us.

/Question/ We have been talking about the reports-elections campaign. Can we at least define more clearly the problems which were most often raised by the comrades at group and basic organization meetings.

/Answer/ This will also be a difficult answer because the magnitude of the problems raised at the meetings is immeasurably great.

Based on the meetings' discussions, one can affirm that our shipyard workers understand the country's difficult situation. Understanding this situation, however, they cannot comprehend, let alone accept, the fact that the main burden for recovery and extricating the country from the crisis rests on the shoulders of the great industrial working class. Why? Such questions were often asked by our workers as they cite the examples of their acquaintances who are quickly earning millions in the current crisis. Our comrades believe that the efforts of officials and decisionmakers should be directed toward organizing the situation in the plants, increasing production, and not settling problems that have to do only with prices.

Another problem is the economic reform. Much hope is associated with its application to improve our wage system and the chance for many people to earn the proper wage for honest and productive work. But here the doubts of the yardworkers are greater than with the problem of prices. From the examples of mismanagement and wastefulness cited (not only in our own shipyard, but also in other plants) during the discussions at the meetings, one could compile a large catalogue of the headaches caused by our economy and the inefficiency of our enterprises' directors.

/Question/ What about social and everyday problems? Did you all not talk about them and, one could believe, arouse a great deal of controversy?

/Answer/ Of course. Especially over the wage issue. Shipyard wages have not been competitive in relation to many other groups for a long time now so that one had to say something about the private sector. This is an open problem which we will continue to discuss for a long time before we solve it. Our shipyard currently has a shortage of workers, welders, pipe-fitters, framework assemblers, painters

and workers with other specialties. Unfortunately, there are few here interested in working in the shipyard, largely because of the wages and the difficult working conditions.

Another problem is housing. Much was said about it. Half the shipyard's work force is made up of young people. More than 2,500 shipyard workers have no apartment. We are solving this problem however we can by utilizing private quarters for which the shipyard paid 45 million zlotys last year and, because of interest rates, will pay around 70 million zlotys this year. That is a great deal of money.

We see a way out in the construction of single-family dwellings. The shipyard has been allocated land for 1,400 dwellings. The problem is that the land needs to be cleared. The city does not have the funds to build a community infrastructure, and neither does our shipyard. That is the hitch. Much time at the discussion was spent on this subject because there is not a branch section or brigade where this problem can be presented more or less in its acute essence.

/Question/ This does not help in the stabilization or pacification of social emotions!

/Answer/ Of course not, and for this reason we have explained to our workers what we intend to do to improve the situation. Generally, people attach great hope to the economic reform. They are counting on the organization and working conditions to improve and will continue to work peacefully and systematically, earning more and more as they go along. It is a private mini-program for stabilization which everyone seems to be drawing up for himself. The best proof that people are thinking that way is the fact that for one year the shipyard's work force did not participate in any street marches or disturbances, despite the fact that many kinds of protest were called for. Those few several-dozen-man groups which are still listening to instigation are from the fringes of shipyard reality.

I really believe in the collective wisdom of people; one only has to talk to them and explain everything to them, even if we are dealing with unpopular issues. But the people need to know.

/Question/ The problem of disseminating information: has the plant committee done anything about this recently? For to know means to learn and to teach...

/Answer/ The circumstances for the shipyard to act have basically changed in recent years. We have our three "S's." While the managing director has personal responsibility, the rest of the people also bear responsibility for what goes on in the shipyard. The activities of our shipyard organization are moving in such a

direction and this is connected with the economic and social sciences. We have been successful in mobilizing the facilities of the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism; we have established a cultural and informational center. Every party organization has a program to hold six meetings during the year dedicated to the problems of ideology. After all, we are educating not only the aktiv but also the heads of our administration.

/Question/ Finally, a question on another problem: what is your relation to those who left the party during our difficult times?

/Answer/ There were various reasons for people to give up their party membership cards. Many were valuable workers and this was our loss. Many were active in various organizations: technical associations, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, trade unions, etc.--all with our full support. We are presenting our former members another chance to join the party, but we have one stipulation: we have to be convinced that the individual, despite not having a party membership card, did not change or challenge his attitude about the party's program. This is a basic criterion for us.

One more comment. We have a very large group of pensioners. These people are very valuable to the shipyard; they are experienced and have a long professional work life behind them. They form a separate party organization, and it seems to me that this is a good solution. Through the POP, the shipyard organization can provide our former workers with a great deal of assistance in solving their difficult every-day problems.

Successive Party Campaign Stages

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 3-4 Dec 83 pp 1,4

/Interview with party provincial committee secretary in Katowice, Comrade Marian Rauszer, by Danuta Olejniczak: "Every Party Member Has the Chance To Contribute To the Party Program"/

/Text/ The most valuable criticisms during the discussion are those which specifically point to causes, people and facts which demonstrate wrongdoing, but which also provide the opportunity to remove them.

/Question/ The reports-elections campaign in Katowice Province has entered its final phase. Can a few generalizations be made already?

/Answer/ Not with certainty. By mid-November the meetings in party groups had ended; this touched upon nearly 4,000 party branch and almost all basic organizations. Conferences have taken place in around 70 percent of the plant organizations and from 21 November

city, city-gmina and gmina conferences will be under way. Practically every party member has had his chance to make a contribution to the material which we will "process" further at the next higher, including provincial, conferences in order to specify the program adopted by the Ninth Party Congress. Each organization had the chance--and this was absolutely indispensable--to take a look back, review, and undertake an evaluation of its efforts during the past term of office. We have to admit by objectively evaluating the fact and taking into account the conditions for action that an appraisal of these efforts will turn out positively, even if hostile, antisocialist forces constantly attempt to discredit the party's accomplishments. Finally, an ideological struggle is going on which is fanned by bourgeois centers for subversion.

No One Promised That It Would Be Easy

/Question/ It is a fact that a very heavy, critical and self-critical atmosphere has been dominating during the meetings and conferences.

/Answer/ I believe this to be a necessary and correct situation. There is no progress without constructive criticism. The most valuable criticism during the discussions is that which specifically points to causes, people and facts which demonstrated wrongdoing, but which also provide the opportunity to remove them.

/Question/ We have been holding the current reports-elections campaign at a rather rapid pace. What has been the organizational preparation and course of the meetings and conferences?

/Answer/ The provincial echelon has been preparing for this campaign for several months by establishing with the aktiv a way to prepare for meetings and conferences. I have to stress: a way, not the agendas. The agendas are determined by the resolution of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum on the conduct of reports-elections campaigns. This resolution is binding on all. It is the same in the case of electing new officials and delegates. The elections are regulated by the provisional elections law of the party. This law was passed at the same plenum. Up until now, meetings have been going efficiently and in accordance with adopted schedules. Attendance has also been relatively high: during the meetings of party groups and plant conferences, more than 90 percent of the membership attended; at the meetings of the party branch and basic organizations, around 80 percent. There were no deviations from the rules. Members of the central and provincial party authorities, workers of the party apparatus, as well as the directing personnel of state and economic administration participated in the meetings and conferences. For them, the quick pace of the campaign meant a considerable increase in their workload. But no one promised when we took up our party responsibilities that the job would be easy. The campaign must run efficiently because reality simply dictates just such requirements.

The Overriding Concern Is To Get Out of the Crisis

/Question/ All this proves a basic organizational strengthening of the party in the last term of office and a growth in internal discipline within the party itself. Could we be optimistic because of the meritorious way in which the meetings and conferences are being conducted?

/Answer/ The contents of the reports, more report-like than program-like, have become the practical and critical evaluation of the implementation of party resolutions passed by all echelons, including the very lowest ones. As I have already said, much has been done, even if shortcomings were pointed out in many of the organizations. At the meetings of party groups and party branch and basic organizations, the main problems discussed focused upon economic, production and social-living standard issues associated with the work place or production department. At the conferences, however, ideological and internal party problems were more often raised. Much was said about the tasks resulting from the resolutions of the party Central Committee's 13th Plenum, with particular attention paid to the attitudes of party members and the need to restore ideological training. At several meetings and conferences, issues tied to the proposed increases in food prices, which are currently being considered, were raised. In this context, much was said about the considerable irregularities in the fixing of prices, especially for highly processed technical items. There are factories which compensate for their inefficiency and waste by charging higher prices for their products.

The need for decisive action on the part of the authorities and public order agencies with regard to combating social parasitism, speculation and unsubstantiated wealth increase was voiced. Some speakers voiced opposition to the extension of the period of amnesty.

Above all, however, in summing up the various and constructive speeches, there was concern over the conduct of the program for getting the country out of the crisis and over its more decisive introduction. Many comments were directed toward the activity of the trade unions in the factories. Comments focused on the lack of understanding on the part of some party members for the need to participate actively and personally in their efforts. The problems of young people were heatedly discussed, as was the realization of the idea of national accord, including an extension of the activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

To be sure, in examining the various issues covered at the meetings and conferences and their resulting proposals, there is no single area of our socioeconomic and political life which was not reflected upon during the campaign.

A Tendency To Combat Inconsistency

/Question/ Certain problems of the highest priority have certainly been delineated by their repeated coverage and controversy.

/Answer/ Of course. Besides those issues concerned with the emergency from the socioeconomic crisis in which our country finds itself, a very important problem is the uneasiness with the increase in tension in the international situation and the threat to peace. Many meetings and conferences passed resolutions and acts with regard to this uneasiness. We have to do everything to resist the militaristic aims of the United States and the NATO countries. We must oppose war, the reality of which is so terrifying because it means the extermination of humanity, all of its accomplishments and everything created by it. We are not talking here about only the party, our country or the entire Polish people, but about the people the world over.

/Question/ This is a level on which the most diverse forces and social groups can join in a partnership for their common fate. In the meantime, there are group and environmental interests. Were these interests also able to surface during the campaign?

/Answer/ Quite the contrary. There appeared to be tendencies to combat inconsistency. For instance, if the countryside is struggling for improvements in the technical and social infrastructure and the city for improvements in food provision, then the interests are the same, even though not everyone realizes this fact. It is true that meetings and conferences take place where particular interests are forced, but the task of the delegates to the provincial conference will be to work out a program which prizes and develops the real and important needs of all the people in Katowice Province. Much will depend on the delegates elected to the conference and on whether they implement the interests of the working class and people.

/Question/ Do the elections up until now guarantee such a situation?

/Answer/ We will see at the conference. As yet, the social composition of the delegates to the provincial conference does not correspond to the social structure of the party provincial organization. Workers, especially farmers, often give up their candidacy to go. In their places, personnel of an engineering-technical or intelligentsia background are chosen. On the other hand, there were relatively few representatives from the militia among basic organization officials.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the interview.

12247

CSO: 2600/414

DAILY REVEALS CORRUPTION IN MEDICINE

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish No 238, 2-4 Dec 83 p 6

/Article by Jerzy Wojtczak: "The Strange Case of Doctor L"/

/Text/ During the last several months a rather unusual case, considering our circumstances, was in process before the district court in Gorzow Wielkopolski. On the defendant's bench sat a doctor, described until recently as "eminent," accused, speaking in general terms, of taking bribes from patients. The uniqueness of the case rests on the fact that it is said that doctors are "on the take," but when it comes to pointing a finger at a doctor, putting him in the defendant's position, there is a shortage of people brave enough to do it. Besides, there are almost no proceedings against doctors who unceremoniously betray the principles of ethics.

The question then is to what extent is the case of Dr L in Gorzow only a case, and to what extent is it a fragment of a universal phenomenon, albeit very difficult to prove and reluctantly exposed? Personally I favor the first version of the evaluation of this phenomenon. But let us consider the facts. Doctor L had 25 years of professional experience. In 1969 he began work in Gorzow Wielkopolski. He was appointed district consultant in neurology, and before being arrested he was a director of the neurology department in the district hospital. He was also a member of high medical commissions, evaluating, among other matters, the professional ethics of other doctors. Finally, in the spring of 1983, police knocked at the door of the home of Dr Leszek L with a public prosecutor's warrant for his arrest. The accusation against Leszek L covered the last 10 years and, in addition to accepting bribes, accused him of being soulless and of making the method of treatment dependent on making a suitable profit from the patient or his family. This last accusation was not substantiated in the course of the court proceeding.

A long procession of witnesses passed before the court. Let us listen to some testimony of both those who expressed the worst opinion of

Dr L and those who thought him a sterling fellow. A female patient who came to Dr L after a stay in the Gorzow hospital to give him flowers as a token of respect and gratitude for his care heard him say, "What do you think I am, a cow from the state farms, that I eat fodder?" This patient testified that the doctor shouted these words.

The wife of Mr Z succumbed to paralysis. She was taken to the department directed by Dr L. Mr Z turned to him for information as to the state of his wife's health. "He did not speak to me. He yelled," Mr Z later testified. "'Get out of here at once!' he roared." Then one of the nurses "took pity" on Mr Z and asked, "Did you give the doctor an envelope?" A few minutes later Mr Z again went to Dr L's office. He placed an envelope with money on the desk. Dr L no longer screamed; he was, in Mr Z's words, "like butter," cordial and concerned.

"The envelope turned him into an angel," Mr Z testified. "He told me to sit down, explained what my wife's problem was, assured me that he would inform me of the course of treatment, that he would do everything possible."

Gossip spread through Gorzow, through the district and adjoining regions that there was no speaking with Dr L without previously preparing an envelope with money (Polish zlotys, foreign currency) or packages with foodstuffs.

Mr B was informed by his wife during a hospital visit that families of patients bring chickens, geese, ducks, butter, or money to Dr L. Together they decided that they must "slip" Dr L something, and they did...

Mr S learned from acquaintances that Dr L does not demand money from anyone, but that it is good to put an envelope stuffed with cash on his desk. Then L will be kind, courteous, and helpful, "will cure better." Therefore, each time he placed cash in an envelope on the doctor's desk. He confirmed this in court. In this way, he gave Dr L a total of 20,000 zlotys.

Mrs. M, counting on better care, gave Dr L several thousand, as she testified without being forced. Many other patients, and especially families, did the same thing, since Dr L maintained his "bribery contacts" exclusively through the families. Discussions took place in his office, and while they were going on Dr L locked the door. At first this habit aroused surprise among the doctors, but later they got used to it. Contact with Dr L during "confidential" discussions with families of patients was maintained by telephone. Once, when the telephone was out of order, certain perturbations occurred at the hospital since Dr L, being busy with discussions in his locked office, could not answer calls, and did not respond to knocking.

Doctor L operated, that is, he took money, balancing on the line between life and death. Neurology, let us remember, is a department on which come people who are suffering from life-threatening illnesses, patients with effusions, brain tumors, different kinds of paralysis. Therefore, in this critical department the doctor is the last hope. The degree of psychological dependence of the patient and his family on the doctor is very great, greater than in other hospital departments.

The majority of Dr L's former patients associate him with a feeling of fear. A former female patient recalled: "When he appeared in the hall, everyone was afraid to speak to him. He was frequently coarse. When someone said something, he immediately responded, 'I'm in charge here, and the patient is supposed to answer my question.'"

A lady with partial paralysis of the face had pain in the feet and told the Dr L about it when he was making ward rounds. He responded, "I don't give a shit that your feet hurt. Did you come here to have your face or your feet treated?" All the patients in the ward heard these words.

Almost everyone who came to Dr L's office was "scolded," or "only" treated arrogantly. After receiving the envelope with cash or a present, the doctor "mellowed," became more cordial. After Mrs X was treated for a certain time, Dr L informed her husband that further success in treatment depended on foreign medications. Mr X said that there would be no problem since he had relatives in the United States and would send for the medications immediately. "A telegram won't be necessary," said Dr L. "I have those medications and will supply them privately."

"Who would not give, where a human life is concerned, especially the life of someone close?" One of the witnesses answered the question of the court with this question.

But there were also other witnesses who had a very good opinion of Dr L. They testified that he treated patients in an exemplary manner, and did so without any additional payments, envelopes with money or presents.

These witnesses testified that the matter of Dr L was precipitated by journalists who "are writing various nonsense about L." Still others said that disclosing such incidents undermines confidence in doctors and their moral authority. Obviously they have a point, but who is it really that undermines this authority and confidence?

Nurses in the neurology department all testified that they did not hear of Dr L's taking bribes, did not see either patients or their families handing over envelopes or other presents, except for flowers, which, in the opinion of the witnesses "are certainly not bribes."

The word "envelope," occurred many times in the testimony of the nurses. They testified that it was true that female patients requested them to get envelopes for them, but the nurses did not know why the patients wanted envelopes. Perhaps they wanted to write letters.

The testimony of the director of the hospital in which Dr L practiced was exceptionally cogent. The director testified that he had been hearing reports of the bad situation in the neurology department for a long time, but there was no concrete evidence in the matter. Replying to the questions of the court, Dr W testified that the present ethical level of young physicians on the staff is, in his opinion, very low. Dr W testified that at one time the work of a doctor was a vocation, but today young people choose this profession because they are convinced that it is profitable. Even at the beginning of their professional life, young doctors are bought over by offers of better working and living conditions. Some labor union locals offer comfortable homes, others offer villas, use of cars, etc. Districts that do not have such perquisites for doctors experience a notable shortage of medical personnel.

Young people coming to work in hospitals and clinics rarely ask about the work, about the patients they will be treating. They are interested in "how much." This testimony enabled the court to evaluate the question of the guilt of Dr L and his position adequately.

How is it possible that Dr L's transgressive behavior had gone undisclosed for so long? There were many reasons for this. The first was the already mentioned difficulty of proving bribery; the second, the creation in the case of Gorzow of "a whole system of channels of information" in the neurology department. The patient would tell his relative that it would be a good idea to give an envelope with money, someone else would be told this by the nurse. And so it went from patient to patient...

It is a commonplace to say that "doctors don't refuse, but accept." And this is the basic error. It is easy to prove that among doctors there are more completely honest people than there are gross fourflushers. The dishonest in medical circles--this is easy to confirm with evidence--are in a decided minority. The case of Dr L must not be made into a fetish. This would be prejudicial against thousands of honest people who are faithful to the Hippocratic oath. It is true that there are ever fewer Judyms, but it is also true that there is an army of doctors that work with dedication, and would not think of demanding villas, cars, or the devil knows what else, from their superiors. In comparison with them, the case of Dr L is even more repugnant. But it is only a case...

The district court in Gorzow sentenced Dr L to 3 years in jail, imposed a fine and prohibited his filling a director's post for 7

years, judging him guilty of some of the accusations contained in the indictment. In justifying the sentence, the court took the position that it is not a crime or anything blameworthy for patients to express gratitude to doctors. But this must not be a bribe, no one can question a bouquet of flowers, for example. Doctor L's sentence is not legally binding, and for this reason I am taking the liberty of discussing it. According to current reasoning, the citizens' gratitude for a doctor may be expressed in the equivalent of, let us say, a bouquet of roses. And this equivalent is for some a bottle of more expensive alcohol, and for others, a sum of money.

Publishing the report of the court proceedings in the case of Dr L in Gorzow by the Gorzow press and by the Szczecin afternoon daily excited mixed feelings among medical workers. They were saying, "Why wash this dirty laundry? What good will this do? You are exhibiting one black sheep and you are undermining confidence in doctors and Polish medicine in general." There were similar reactions to reports of the tragedy in the Slubice hospital, where women died in childbirth because poison was administered instead of medicine. Such accidents--I stress, accidents--should be reported. Primarily in the interests of the medical community. As an admonition to others. The medical community itself must be concerned with preserving itself from people with low moral-ethical values.

As far as Dr L is concerned, there is much to indicate that this matter will not end with the verdict pronounced by the Gorzow district court. There will be appeals.

2950

CSO: 2600/405

DISCUSSION PANEL ANALYZES SOCIAL AWARENESS

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 83 pp 92-125

[Editorial discussion: "Social Awareness in Poland and Its Transformations"]

[Text] The problem of social awareness, its state and the ensuing conclusions is under any conditions a problem of special significance. For it determines the whole nature of the intellectual life, ideas and views common to a given society. Thus it comprises views, opinions and attitudes of individuals and entire social groups relating to historically evolved forms of collective life that are actualized as the civilization develops. Changes in social awareness occur, however, at a much slower rate than do the changes in the technical-economic production processes conditioning that awareness. The strategic aims of building socialism may be--aside from, of course, other indispensable conditions--achieved once the degree of the social awareness of the people is correspondingly high.

Sudden shocks such as economic depressions (crises), natural disasters, wars and similar occurrences are distinctively reflected in social awareness, engendering undesirable effects in the sphere of social morality (e.g. a disdainful attitude toward work) while at the same time promoting positive traits (e.g. the feeling of a bond with the nation in face of a threat to the fatherland).

The crisis of the years 1980-1981 in Poland was also a crisis of awareness, and hence emerging from the political and economic crisis also means surmounting the crisis in awareness through the joint efforts of society and the authorities. Knowledge of the state of social awareness, of the mood of public opinion, is an elementary need to any authorities. Its analysis and the ensuing conclusions provide the basis for action by the authorities and the party. Disregard, on the other hand, of the actual state of social awareness leads, in its turn, to destructive processes in that awareness, to a crisis in the relations between the authorities and the society, which impedes even further the pace at which economic difficulties are surmounted. But this is only the obverse side of the problem. The reverse side is the shaping of public opinion and social awareness. This is an inalienable right and duty of the state and the party, of the educational and propaganda system. The shortcomings uncovered in this respect are too obvious and tangible. Activism in this sphere is the need of the moment.

We have thus deemed it expedient to turn to activists and experts in this field with the proposal to conduct a panel discussion in our editorial offices on social awareness and its changes. We were particularly interested in the following groups of questions:

--degree of acceptance of party ideology and policy (obstructing and promoting factors);

--social morality--attitudes and values;

--effectiveness of the upbringing and education of youth;

--scope of influence of milieu of the opposition;

--certain occurrences which may be defined as manifestations of pathology of social awareness (phenomena of irrationalization of consciousness, resentiments, prejudices, etc.).

The participants in the discussion were: Jacek Bledowski, director of the Propaganda Department of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee; Professor Andrzej Burda of Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin; Jan Gagacki, functionary of Radom Province PZPR Committee; Rudolf Golonko, director of the WOKI [expansion unknown] Department of the Opole Province PZPR Committee; Docent Col Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Center for Public Opinion Surveys under the Office of the Council of Ministers (URM); Janusz Ludwiczak, director of the Propaganda Department of the Skierniewice Province PZPR Committee; Professor Jerzy Ladyka of the IPPM-L [expansion unknown, but probably an institute of Marxism-Leninism]; docent Stefan Opara of the Higher School of Social Sciences (WSNS); docent Stanislaw Rainko of the IPPM-L; Professor Janusz Reykowski of Warsaw University, member of the Main Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON); Andrzej Wasilewski, director of the State Publishing Institute (PIW); Stanislaw Wronski, Editor-in-Chief of NOWE DROGI, and representatives of the editorial board. The discussion was moderated by Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Politburo, first secretary of the Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee, chairman of the Editorial Council of NOWE DROGI.

It is our hope that the publication of this discussion will provide a kind of voice in the discussion on portentous problems considered by the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

Stanislaw Rainko:

It is not easy to diagnose a phenomenon like social awareness. One could hazard the thesis, however, that the current Polish collective awareness exists in a kind of crisis. If we accept this thesis, we at once face two questions: namely, what is the nature of that crisis and how does it manifest itself, and what are its causes?

In speaking of the crisis in our awareness I would like to pay special attention to two factors which interest me most personally. For I believe that the crisis with which we are dealing manifests itself, on the one hand, as a crisis of motivation, particularly of motivation for collective actions directed toward accomplishing social tasks and goals, and on the other, as an

ideological crisis encompassing the sphere of values and convictions relating uniquely to socialist thought and ideology. Let us dwell for a while on these phenomena.

What is, properly speaking, the meaning of the aforementioned crisis of motivation? Well, it manifests itself in, among other things and above all, the form of resistance or reluctance to rally round the programs formulated by the social and political centers of leadership. In other words, the crisis of motivation is a crisis of social commitment. It may, in this connection, be coupled with continuing strong proactivism in the private sphere or in the sphere of group interests.

These processes, if they occur, always are serious and threatening. In the case of the socialist society their threat is magnified by its square, so to speak. The point is that socialism neither arises nor develops as a spontaneous force. It presupposes an enhanced participation by collective human will and awareness with respect to all known by history so far. Thus if an atrophy of motivation appears here on a mass scale, it can mean only one thing: a more or less prolonged stagnation of development.

Such phenomena have to be counteracted but they also require an adequate and thorough exploration. Yet, in this field we are fettered by certain mystifications. I include among them the conviction, sometimes stubbornly voiced and reappearing in the press, that the Polish society is supposedly characterized by illwill and bias against the organization of state itself as such, that it displays so to speak an anti-state instinct. Attempts are being made to deduce this alleged attitude from historical experiences, on pointing to, e.g. the prolonged absence of Polish statehood in modern history. And yet, it can be equally well deduced from this that Poles should precisely and particularly prize and appreciate the state, because they had been so long deprived of statehood.

This mystification need not be completely disinterested. Mystifications rarely are disinterested. What actually happened is that social groups that are ill-disposed toward the reforms initiated by the state--because such reforms injure their particular interests--will rationalize (in the psychoanalytic meaning of the word) their illwill as an expression of the resistance and mistrust of the entire society toward the state.

The atrophy of collective motivation appears to stem from more contemporary sources that are, above all, implanted in our reality. These sources are effects of various failures in our socialist construction so far, the abuse of trust and the disappointed hopes of the society. This would indicate at the same time that we are dealing with a temporary phenomenon which will be ultimately overcome once the circumstances conditioning it are eliminated and become history without recurring. The attempt itself to influence consciousness--which clearly should in no case be abandoned--will accomplish little in this respect. Consciousness is no less resistant than the material world, and its historically significant transformations occur solely under the influence of social existence--this is taught by Marxism, and this truth becomes no less topical under socialism as well.

But what is the meaning, in its turn, of that aspect of crisis of awareness which we termed the ideological crisis? It consists primarily, as one might

believe, in the undermining of the faith of a large part of the Polish society in the value of socialist ideals and socialism itself. This too is an effect of the aforementioned experiences. It, too, will pass, sooner or later, as will these experiences. But as of the present--this being the present in which we happen to live and act--the situation has not at all ceased to be dramatic.

If it is to be effectively accomplished, socialism must become a value to the greatest number of people, to millions. Political, geopolitical and other reasons, important and significant as they may be, will not replace ideological reasons. For what is the meaning of the undermining of the ideological rationale in human consciousness? It means no more and no less than that socialism is losing its ideological rights and beginning to exist simply as an historical fact. The expression "real socialism" has acquired precisely this negative meaning.

It is sometimes said that, after all, the mass of the people demands justice, and justice is a socialist value. Thus, the values of socialism have not become any less topical and on the contrary rather appear to burgeon.

This is an illusory argument. Since when have not people desired justice? This voice is heard throughout the history of class societies. In the category of justice per se there is not, or at least there does not have to be, anything specifically socialist. Justice is a universal value which eras in history and social groups each interpret in their own way. On the other hand, when used in its most general meaning, justice remains merely a kind of appeal or, if you like, a banner phrase.

The matter of which we are speaking has at present become the topic of ferocious attacks on Marxism and socialism. Marxism is declared to be a "dead issue"---not only in its intellectual but also and above all in its ideological sense. Socialism is presented as an anti-value. Such is the current most common bourgeois line of attack on socialist practice and thought. It is thus intended to strike one of the most sensitive spots--the moral and ideological rationale serving as our guiding light.

We cannot remain passive in face of this wave of criticism. But we also must view realistically our reality. We have learned much, especially in recent times. And the best way of combatting the enemy is striking the weapon from his hand. For he feeds on the shortcomings, neglects and even evils still besetting our life--he focuses on them in isolation from reality, absolutizes them and turns them against us. Being aware of this strategy, let us unmask it before the society. But let us also create our own reality in measure to our values. We are obliged to do so not because of the enemy but for our own sake.

Andrzej Burda:

I want to discuss not so much the draft theses formulated by Professor Rainko as the several fundamental questions and propositions which he presented. I have a sinking feeling in face of the breadth and hugeness of the tasks cited in these draft theses, and not only with respect to the diagnosis. For I believe that a diagnosis is not the main problem. And here I wish to draw attention to three elements which I believe to be the most essential.

Comrade Rainko said that the diagnosis is not easy. Yes, it is difficult. But to me the principal task is not diagnosis but therapy. And that depends on the extent of the acceptance of ideological and political action--also by those who do not belong to the party. Of course, it is difficult to answer this question concretely. Still, the intellectual level of the ideological commitment of the society can be characterized in general. It is catastrophic. It is simply pessimistic. It is clearly apathetic.

This also is how I view the other essential problem, that of the influence exerted on the society by the so-called opposition, or by all that we mean by the term the opposition. Here, too, the influence of the so-called opposition has to be clarified. I realize that the word "the opposition" is not apposite here. For it does not reflect the danger it harbors. This rather concerns of the degree of hostility toward the state felt by all those more or less obvious elements.

A demonstration in Gdansk can be prepared from day to day. For what was represented there is personally uninteresting to me. Sorry to criticize that demonstration, but I am aware that other comrades also have responded to it in a similar manner.

Thus, such work takes a great responsibility to entrust to responsible people. But nowadays we rather stress conducting propaganda campaign work and gathering from time to time for demonstrations such as the one in Gdansk. And that entails certain consequences; it entails elements of a propaganda failure. Yes, I know, making propaganda these days is an incredibly difficult matter.

We have never been fortunate in propaganda work in People's Poland, also during the period which we later termed the period of the "propaganda of success." Attempts were made to disseminate among the society what had seemed just to the political and state leadership. The society's approbation of the leadership's thoughts was pursued. Later, unexpectedly, the results proved to be completely different.

It can be definitely stated that we have in Poland a militant opposition which opposed in a very serious manner the actions of the authorities. In this case, one or two [successful coal] mines or several press articles are not sufficient counter-measures. What is needed here is a long-range program of action.

Thus, counteraction is difficult. And here I pass on to the third point of these questions, namely, a problem which may be defined as social pathology. What this means is known. We should answer the question of the manner, methods and techniques whereby to combat these phenomena. Here, too, the techniques of struggle cannot be protracted over an extremely long period of time. I do not know whether today's discussion will produce any major solutions. It is being conducted within a too small group. You yourselves, comrades, are aware that discussion among a larger group affords the possibilities for a broader view of the matter and makes possible a clash of views, hence also providing access to a properly meaningful solution.

I will not discuss the subject of resocialization, for this process is deepening. Very fortunately, it began on 13 December [1981, when martial law

was declared]. But this is not a coordinated and fully considered process. Besides, in one year not everything can be attended to. This refers, for example, to the question of secular education. And more broadly speaking, this refers to what we imply in everyday propaganda language by the term "the opposition." Our society is far from ideal. But it is an aware society. An autopsy of the interwar period, the period of the "Sanacja" [regime of the colonels], indicates that it lacked such a regression of secular education as is occurring at present. And at the same time the current religious devotion of the society also is not matched by that period. Consider that during the era of the "Sanacja," in 1938, when the more or less arbitrary Church authorities threw out Pilsudski's remains from one crypt to another in Wawel, Skladkowski submitted his resignation. What had been at that time the attitude of the authorities toward the clergy? And their attitude toward the intelligentsia? Toward the Union of Polish Teachers, for example? At that time there was no such widespread clericalism as exists at present among teachers and scientists or, speaking more broadly, among educators in general. Thus, in this respect we are facing a regression.

I do not want to enlarge on this topic. The situation within the party's ranks also is bad. Comrade Rainko justly observed that if we wish to reach the society concerning issues of awareness, we must first go among the ranks of the aktiv. I have met comrades who years ago used to be good comrades but at present felt moved by looking on at the Pope's visit. Of course, one may be moved by this reason. But people who belong to the party should not be expected to feel moved by that visit. Yet, the consequences ensuing from the Pope's sermons and homilies are unequivocally eloquent. They were calculated to reanimate Solidarity. Generally speaking, they sounded as follows: let everyone hold to his own views and adhere to them. Is it easy to make policies in view of these current affairs?

Thus, this has to be combatted. First, work should be planned rationally. Secondly, as has justly been stressed, this can in no case be a matter of a seasonal drive. Our group here is too small, without meaning offense to the comrades present, and it sometimes seems that this is a task beyond our strength. At present, on the basis of this task of modest scope, that decisive step should, however, be made--a step that would at least suffice to synchronize these actions.

A few words about ideological upbringing in the school. I have been working as an educator for 35 years. We have 10 universities and a developed school system in Poland. But it has to be stated that, after the war, the upbringing functions of the school system have not always been properly implemented. The entire system of higher education, including apparently all universities of Poland as centers for the development and propagation of humanist thought, have not implemented this task.

What should be done to change this? And a change is needed. The point here is not that youth should unambiguously and universally approve our actions. This will not be accomplished by means of even the best prepared and most effectively recited lectures. Here I should like to point out that in my personal opinion it will take at least two generations before we can consider certain changes. It will not help if a general staff of educators or others is established for promoting upbringing work in secondary or higher schools. But there exists a tremendous danger, especially after what we witnessed in 1981

in Lublin--a danger emanating from among the teachers of secondary and even elementary schools themselves. We witnessed the participation of teachers as organizers of youth strikes, and we even saw how some teachers were exerting pressure on youth to take part in strikes. The teachers were not teaching history to youth; instead, they taught it how to strike.

We continue to face extremely vigorous activities of the Catholics in schools on a scale that simply cannot be compared with the pre-war scale. This is a bitter pill. But as for us we still operate with a lenient terminology that may have been tolerable during 1956-1957 and perhaps also until 1960 but which now is unacceptable.

A few words more about the opposition. In general, it should be said that in our proceedings we employ the term 'the opposition' improperly; the opposition in the proper meaning of the term actually exists in England; the opposition really exists there, where it is so to speak a justified opposition basing itself on certain social groups. It functions when it at the same time accepts a minimum of legalism and the state. For example, in Poland at one time the Polish Peasant Party, the party of Mikolajczyk, constituted an opposition which acknowledged the state authorities, the government. But let us also say that at that time there had existed too an underground which engaged in armed struggle against these authorities. In that struggle militiamen, soldiers and members of the security service lost their lives. At that time some bonds arose between the Mikolajczyk opposition and the underground, but that is another matter. For those active in the underground cannot be defined by the term "the opposition." The opposition may exist within the party, and such situations exist.

By using these days the term "the opposition" we are rehabilitating our opposition. Why do we say that it stands on the soil of Polish statehood. After all, everything being done by the people's state, People's Poland, is bad to these people. They do not acknowledge any action by the people's state. Their actions show this unambiguously. Perhaps this is a trifle, but to me this is obvious. The role of the opposition is played, for example, by Polish Catholics who stand on the soil of [acknowledge] the statehood of People's Poland but have different opinions on some issues. Theirs is, generally speaking, the opposition to the party line.

But those who actually are opposed to any undertaking by the people's rule, those who refuse to blemish themselves by cooperating with the authorities in any way--what kind of opposition are they?

Let me repeat two things that are crucial to further action, to further discussion. I do not suppose that we will finish today discussing this important problem. A tremendous amount of work is awaiting us, but that work will be a result of what we shall consider and discuss here.

Thus, above all, we should not emphasize some special drives that are improvisational in nature, and on the other hand we should not remain passive either. I understand that demonstrations are necessary and essential. This is also accommodated within propaganda actions. We thus cannot abandon great battles for repairing social awareness.

The other matter which the comrades already have mentioned is that of upbringing within the party itself. Unless the party is prepared to resolve this matter, we shall not emerge from the present situation. We shall not emerge from it especially after the abolition of the martial law, whose introduction saved the Polish nation from a great tragedy. But the martial law, the command, did not bring about the party's rebirth, its true rebirth. Only after the party itself undergoes a rebirth it will be possible to speak of its influence on the society or the nation.

Jerzy Ladyka:

The comments made so far proposed a discussion of broad scope. I will touch upon certain topics raised at this panel. In particular, I wish to draw attention to the danger of the wave of irrationalism flooding the consciousness of contemporary Poles.

One form of the irrationalization of the thinking of our contemporaries is the difficulty or even inability of grasping the reality rationally, the difficulty of appreciating the importance of real social, economic and political processes, a kind of indifference combined with a frivolous treatment of the reality and of the threat harbored in everyday life. This stagnation in reality cognition, this distinctive infantilism hampers appraisals and the formulation of rational conclusions. It condemns one to a helpless wait or aggressive pretensions against the state.

Such attitudes make for additional difficulties during a crisis--they themselves, besides, are a manifestation of the crisis of consciousness. They stem from varied sources, including ideological sources, as appears to be confirmed by the visit of John Paul II.

The effect of the substance of the teachings proclaimed by John Paul II during his visit deepens and will continue to deepen irrational strata in the thinking of Poles.

Obvious irrationalization is coloring the consciousness of not only the broad masses of the average citizenry bound to religious thought by means of continually expanded ritualism. Within the framework of that ritualism, clergymen release and stimulate with increasing skill the organizational activism of the faithful, who are deeply convinced that this activism fully justifies their passivity in the sphere of work that is useful and necessary from the standpoint of society's needs of existence.

Also subject to irrationalization is the awareness of members of the teaching community from the elementary to the higher-school levels inclusively. At present the situation is paradoxical, because the educational system, which under the Constitution is supposed to inculcate a scientific world outlook and rational attitudes, is losing its ability to assure a cadre capable of implementing this direction of education and upbringing without doing violence precisely to personal views and practical attitudes.

The substance of the Pope's homilies is laden with multiple meanings. Much of what was said by John Paul II was basically to divert the society's attention from the problems of the reality of socialism.

John Paul II assumed the existence of a permanent--and actual--dissonance between the authorities and the society. He did not define more precisely the scope of the meaning or the category of "the authorities" and "the society." But it is difficult to imagine that he did not realize that such a schism is always relative by nature, and that in this connection any judgment or assessment based on this assumption has to be specific and verified. And yet, he stubbornly adhered to the version limited to the generalized emphasis on a dissonance between the authorities and the society, posing personally as the alleged representative of the interests of the society. In this interpretation, the Pope and the Church are institutions authorized to function as a tribunal operating, as it were, above the structure formed by the authorities and the society. John Paul II invariably pursued the thesis of the need and imperativeness of understanding between the authorities and the society. He implied in this connection that this is a task which he is trying to initiate precisely as, among other things, a consequence and result of his missionary trip.

John Paul prescind from the historical-social reality of the context in which he performs his pilgrimage and religious teachings. He takes no position on the principles of actual [national] accord initiated by the authorities and implemented for the last 2 years, and especially for the last year. He takes no notice of the actions of the authorities, of the fruits of that difficult process, still bristling with all sorts of obstacles, which has encompassed not only individuals within the apparatus of executive power but also broad social circles of persons from various social classes and groups. Perhaps it would be more exact to say not that he "takes no notice" but that he does not mention this at all. This reality of dialogue and accord which we encounter in our daily life is absent in the Pope's speeches. But it is noticed and realistically appreciated by the sober-thinking forces of the Episcopate. It can be assumed that the Pope is aware of the entire reality of the problems of dialogue and accord being implemented in Poland (how can the PRON be overlooked?)--but that he does not recognize it, i.e. does not approve it and hence regards it as a false or apparent reality. Apparently, dialogue and accord are not acceptable if they are initiated by the authorities and the party, considering that [to the Pope] their practical consequences do not even merit taking a position on them or at least taking notice of them as facts.

This clearly concerns a dialogue providing the conditions for the solution of general problems of the society, rather than a dialogue that may magnanimously be commenced provided that terms dictated in advance are met (by the "authorities," of course).

John Paul II takes no position on the realities nor on the program proposed by the authorities. At most, he takes notice of the authorities as an object toward which postulates and reminders may be addressed and which can be subjected to criticism not for what it is doing about dialogue and accord but for what it supposedly is not doing. Of course, this reproach is not proved by facts. It is speculatively deduced from the concept of a generalized assumption of the existence of a permanent dissonance between the authorities and the society. The propagation of this accusation offers a convenient vehicle for offering oneself as the herald of the good news of dialogue and accord. John Paul II formulates a platform of values on which dialogue and accord can and should be constructed. These values deserve respect, and they exist

besides--with the exception of the question of religious genesis--within the system of generally acknowledged values of modern humanism. It is readily seen, however, that they do not include the values constituting the socialist socio-economic and political system. This concerns the fundamental values of public ownership of property, liberated labor, universal education and culture, and socialist democracy. The point of course is not that in enumerating such values as truth, freedom, justice, solidarity and (moral) renewal, the Pope should in the same breath appeal for the complete acceptance of the values characteristic of socialism. This could not, of course, be reconciled with the world outlook-doctrinal premises of Peter's successor. But the total omission of the values defined by the socialist reality, or the failure to notice the problems of the life of millions of people cannot either be reconciled with the requirements of a thought ambitious of evidencing witness of the real world. The Pope did not make even the least gesture in the direction of that segment of the society which does not necessarily perceive the Pope and the Church as the seat of truth and the chief authority--that segment which at the same time supports socialism and the party and its policy. The impression may be produced that that part of the Polish nation--and it is an incontestable reality, because after all some did build socialism--which created the new Poland through its own work and on its own responsibility, without appealing for aid to the Church as well as to religion, does not seem to exist. At any rate, it is non-existent in the sense of being perceived as something worthy of interest.

It is an incontestable fact that John Paul II declares a need for dialogue and accord. But on his part as a Polish Pope, as a reflector of the opinion of the faithful in our country, he does not refer to genuine dialogue with the opposing side. John Paul II uttered a great monologue on the need for a dialogue which, fundamentally speaking, he did not conduct. And it is difficult to conduct a worthwhile dialogue if prior to this a situation is created such that the adversary does not seem to exist. The Pope affirmed the conviction of the existence of a reality other than that which is actually present. He contributed to mystification by enabling people to live in a world of make-believe which is in reality divorced from the realities of the everyday life of millions of people in Poland. This soil may engender the fallacious notion that, inasmuch as the socialist reality is absent as it were, then what "really" exists is that reality and that community which manifests itself in acts of religious experience during mass rallies and is integrated within the Church and dissolves all its internal differences in the devotion to and love for the Pope as the living symbol of the values he proclaims. As for the reality of real socialism, of the world, of the everyday life of the Poles, in the light which is shed on it, it is apparent and only seems to exist and is of a provisional nature.

Andrzej Wasilewski:

I feel that the principal source of the weakening of socialist attitudes in Poland is economic failures. There is no doubt that the strengthening of these attitudes in the first half of the 1970s had been linked to the revival of hopes for Poland's joining the vanguard of countries with a high standard of civilization and material welfare. The subsequent sudden upsurge of symptoms of economic inefficiency and disintegration demolished these hopes and gave birth to doubt in the possibility of Poland's attaining the "European status" by the socialist road. The rising generations, especially, which started productive

life already during the era of progressive disintegration of all economic relations, acquired negative feelings toward the socialist-state sector of the economy. They gained the conviction that on this road they had no generational prospects of their own and would not build a world that would satisfy them. They viewed the vexatious symptoms of inefficiency and disintegration as demolishing the argument of the burden of the legacy of Polish underdevelopment and lag. Toward arguments of this kind the younger generation has adopted a generally ridiculing attitude, regarding them as ingenious attempts at self-defense by the incompetent and bureaucratized ruling stratum. The political-economic chaos of the years 1980-1981, intensified by the propaganda demagoguery aimed against our system of society at any cost, contributed to the devastation of minds. The storm raging for nearly 2 years, which among other things helped to compromise the efforts attempted by Poland, caused harm not only to the authority of the socialist state which made these efforts but also, in general, to a rational, pragmatic and modern way of thinking. A thoughtless fashion of contemptuously negating the effects of industrialization had arisen. The notion was that the Katowice Iron and Steel Plant was to be shut down, the Northern Port was to be closed and dismantled, and all other projects were to be immobilized in perpetuity. The surge of compromised industrial investments destroyed the conviction, built up over decades, of the expediency of industrializing the country. And along with this, it destroyed the feeling that the road toward high standards of civilization and material welfare requires long-range pragmatic-industrial efforts. The genesis of that pragmatic interpretation of the sources of success in Poland was new, linked to the industrializing efforts of the PRL, so that the surge of negation, turned against the state, also flooded the foundations of pragmatic thinking. The awareness of the broad Polish public regressed to its earlier stage associated with centuries-long backwardness, to a stage of belief in magic, belief in miracles and tutelary powers watching over the Polish nation, belief in the benevolent aid of the Poland-loving West, etc. as a guarantee of Poland's destiny. The retrogression of Polish mentality to these pre-industrial magic-providential kinds of mentality is perhaps the greatest loss sustained by Poland owing to the shocks caused by the crisis. The hopes for rising above living standards that humiliate national pride were linked to childish expectations which can merely weaken and delay Polish chances for an economic upsurge.

Manifestations of this retrogression of Polish mentality would disappear sooner if social empiricism, everyday experience, would produce more rapidly proofs of a progressive rationalization of the state, the economy, the entire public sector. Consider at random a sample revolting experience. A couple of days ago, I had stood for more than an hour in a terribly hot and airless state office in order to pay my monthly fees to state institutions. Together with me, more than 50 other persons gathered there for that pious purpose swayed from exhaustion. Two young people entered, glanced at the queue, and one of them said: "See how the commune treats us. Soon we all will end up as crazies." Thus, this irrational public practice evoked an irrational reaction. What would happen in a rationally organized state if the payment of some ordinary fees would require such martyrdom? At the next meeting of the municipal council someone would raise the issue and demand the immediate dismissal of the local post office director. In Poland no one considers it, because we regard it as a normal situation that it is the citizen's duty to stand in a queue, and it is the right of the state office to open at will "windows" to applicants. Is not isolating the concept of socialism from the

nightmare of the queue a most urgent imperative for restoring the faith of the people in the rationality of our system of society? Why is it that in the "windows" of offices there is a chronic shortage of functionaries although in general the civil service is so overstaffed? Or: why has no one considered introducing a system of non-cash fees which would radically reduce the female staff behind the windows? I mention all this merely as an example showing that the inertia of the machinery of the officialdom, its opposition to innovative ideas, its complacency, its feeling of untouchable supremacy over the citizen, cause the daily contact between people and the officials to be an irrational and arduous effort. It is completely unlikely that a machinery which so poorly serves people could prompt them to be well-disposed to the system of society.

I wish to draw attention to yet another kind of everyday experience undergone by increasingly larger numbers of people. The economic policy is opening increasingly broader elbowroom for private enterprises. I do not question the expediency of that policy so far as small producers are concerned, but I wish to discuss the impression produced on the social awareness by the resulting huge disproportions in wages. The employee of a private firm is paid double or triple, and a member of its management team is paid quintuple and higher. Without any ideological substructure, through empirical means, social awareness becomes imbued with the conviction that the capitalist economy is more effective, because it pays higher wages, and that the socialized economy is worse off, because it cannot afford to pay such wages. If these disproportions in wages continue, elementary economic experience will argue against linking one's personal prospects to the socialist form of economy. Even now already this is a major consciousness-shaping factor.

And in conclusion, another remark. The manifestations of crisis of consciousness that I discussed--the retrogression of Polish mentality to the pre-industrial stage, the growing resentment of poorly functioning official institutions, the deprecation of work in the socialist sector and the growing attractiveness of work in the private sector with its higher wages--become in general superposed on the political challenge thrown in 1981 at the Polish statehood built on the basis of the Potsdam Agreements. The political struggle in 1981 was largely a repetition of the struggle fought for Polish awareness during the years 1944-1945 between "London" Poles and "Warsaw" Poles. The arguments, methods, language and even people active on the political scene of those times have returned. Uncovering the political documents of that chapter in history is indispensable and urgent, because their absence from actual public circulation as well as the poor knowledge of facts and realities facilitate the return to the Polish scene of concepts which had fallen by the wayside during that historic ordeal, thus causing to Poland grave losses and damage.

Jan Gagacki:

On taking the floor in the discussion on "Social Awareness in Poland and Its Transformations," I am better situated in the sense that I already listened to the views voiced on this issue by previous speakers in this discussion.

In my comments I should like to draw attention to certain aspects of the evolution of social awareness which are and will continue to be of a quite non-trivial significance. The evolution of awareness can be generally

considered in two of its aspects. First, the provision of people with certain ideological, philosophical, world-outlook and ideational concepts by formalized institutions as well as through informal social contacts. The other aspect of the evolution of consciousness consists in the so-called participation in social structures and the attendant entire syndrome of dependences and consequences. I will confine my discussion to that first method of the evolution or shaping of consciousness which can roughly be termed upbringing. In this stratum of our social life we are dealing with a kind of discontinuity. That discontinuity consists in that the institutions educating young people in the socialist state follow different and most often conflicting ideational programs and inculcate the young citizen with differing concepts.

On the one hand, we are dealing with ideational concepts provided by the schools and other state institutions and on the other with those provided by the Church and the family. I do not have to prove here that the educational programs of these institutions conflict. I placed the family on the same pole with the Church quite deliberately, in view of the Church's actual influence on the institution of the family. In this connection, let me point to a highly important problem. Namely, at times that are particularly difficult to its life, in the situation of a continuing crisis, the society should (and must) explore the most rational ways of breaking this impasse. And yet, the growth of religiousness negates the desirable direction of action. This is in my opinion another cause of the present situation as regards the material conditions of human existence, and it also deepens the current state of social awareness.

Upbringing is an important element of education. The situation as outlined here has its repercussions on social awareness at present; this unfortunately is how that awareness is shaped and, what is particularly worth noting, this will produce its negative consequences in the future.

The lack of uniformity in ideational upbringing results in discontinuity of the educational process. I want to consider a problem mentioned by Professor S. Rainko and linked to the crisis of socialist thought and ideology. It is true that the collapse of the policy of the 1970s has resulted in such a state of social awareness, and what is more, we can conclude from numerous publications and comments that a crisis of this kind has also appeared in the consciousness of scientists who by their profession deal with problems of Marxist science and ideology. I believe that it is social practice that has been the main cause of this situation in the sphere of awareness. That practice has, to be sure, falsified erroneous policy and erroneous interpretations of Marxism but not its basic principles.

Yet another not unimportant factor is the aforementioned discontinuity of the process of upbringing and education as well as improperly conducted propaganda activities. This was and is being exploited by the opposition on every occasion that arises. I believe, though, that all those who are responsible for the process of Marxist education are not blameless.

As regards the teaching of Marxism in schools, grave fears arise. For aside from such disciplines as political sciences and sociology, Marxist education is a relatively insignificant element of instruction.

Such treatment of Marxist thought compounds and magnifies the intelligentsia's lack of competence in Marxist analysis of social phenomena. Marxism becomes rejected as a component part of consciousness also because, when taught "in spurts," it disappoints as a method for elucidating social phenomena. If we now consider the fact that the intelligentsia, in the broad meaning of that term as a social group, with this kind of education in Marxist thought, attends to the educational process in various fields of social life, the process of the proper shaping of social awareness does not look so good. I refer here, of course, to only the first aspect of the shaping of awareness, which I mentioned at the outset, namely the transmission of ideational concepts. This must be inseparably accompanied by an evident and tangible transformation of material life. For in itself the shaping of awareness without an improvement in social practice is hardly useful. There must be a dialectical unity here. It is not my purpose to diagnose contemporary social awareness. This can be done on the basis of empirical studies whose findings will surely be presented by comrade Kwiatkowski. I cannot either identify any particular effective remedy for the problems we are discussing. My intention was merely to point out partially some of the causative and contributing factors of contemporary social awareness.

Stanislaw Kwiatkowski:

Social awareness in Poland is a very fashionable topic nowadays and, like any other fashion, it had existed, vanished, and is now reappearing. How many times already has this issue been debated, and the comments made have nearly always been cut of the same cloth. As before, now too common sense substitutes for the absence of thorough data on this subject. I do not mean to sound malicious, but who at present can offer legible data on what is meant by social awareness? Quite aside from the obvious fact that the exploration of that state of being takes time and comparative studies. Unless one rests content with moods, opinions, temporary mental states....

The plans of the Center for Public Opinion Survey envisage various kinds of studies--from quick public-opinion polls to detailed interviews as well as questionnaires distributed to several thousand respondents, including some distributed anew at regular intervals, serving to predict the coming changes. With time we will have an increasing quantity of data on the awareness of the principal classes and strata of the Polish society.

For the time being, however, the initial surveys, chiefly those on wages and trade unions as well as, on this basis, the "sociological photographs" of several large industrial plants illustrate the great complexity of the socio-political situation at enterprises. We are chiefly interested in workers, and it is about them that I can provide most information.

The workers surveyed are aware that everything is created by their hard work and that without that work surmounting the crisis is hardly conceivable. They suggest solutions serving to acknowledge their contribution and honor it properly through the payment of bonuses for skill, qualifications and commitment to production. The question of which groups should be given wage increases should a plant obtain the necessary funds, was firmly answered: "Chiefly those who work productively" (68.3 percent of the respondents). Sixty

percent believe that they could produce more at their work stations were it not for the poor organization of labor at the plant and the poor supply of raw and other materials and tools. It is significant that the largest majority (67.8 percent) are decidedly in favor of shutting down unprofitably operating enterprises (having them declare bankruptcy).

Workers expect a proper and measurable evaluation of their labor. The work establishment itself should decide on its own how to perform this evaluation (92.6 percent), and the decision should be made directly by the foreman or brigade leader (50.7 percent) or by the worker's direct supervisor, upon eventual consultation of worker self-government. And in general, lack of autonomy at a plant is regarded as a major misfortune, as are an improper employment structure (overstaffed administration), outmoded wage rates, and improper legal solutions--inclusive of the labor law code.

Workers demand that arduous and noxious working conditions be taken into account and properly remunerated. When, for example, the question asked referred to remuneration that should be paid for people who perform equally well in the same occupation and have the same skill qualifications, nearly 65 percent of the respondents answered that wages for such persons should be adapted to the conditions under which they are working.

The respondents reject a wage freeze as a recipe for surmounting the crisis (71.1 percent), and they also generally reject wage egalitarianism based on the principle of more or less equal wages for all (70 percent). They declare that they are ready to have their teams get rid of those individuals who perform poorly unless their material or family situation is difficult.

When asked to choose between allocating funds in the present situation on wages or on social services, the respondents pointed to an intermediate solution: as much should be spent on wages as on social services (57.5 percent). This can be variously evaluated. The most likely conclusion is that social services have become impressed in the awareness of workers as a permanent element of the accomplishments of our system of society.

Detailed interviews on the same topic with representatives of the management, worker self-government, PZPR executive boards, and trade-union founding committees, reveal nearly complete convergence of assessments and opinions. The wage system is not assessed as being too complicated, but at the same time it is considered fictitious--the average employee, if he can grasp how that system operates, knows solely the legal basis on which he is paid, and not for what he is paid. The system in force is not a good management tool; it is rather an obstacle to management; it encourages cheating--internally, in order to implement tasks and pay employees, and externally in order to make it all conform to the regulations in force. The system does not allow for differences in the difficulty and complexity of labor, as well as in the qualifications of employees.

Everyone in this group believes that wages at present are not an economic category and instead merely fulfill a social function. Wages are viewed as being only indirectly linked to labor: the wage is a reward for staying on the job. The workforce is aware that under such conditions it cannot gain much by exerting greater efforts, and if it gains anything the gain is incommensurate with the effort.

This has its consequences: few workers are willing to work overtime, unless catching up with the average is concerned--for example, before reaching retirement-pension age, before a prolonged training assignment, etc. Even in the case of those working on piecework basis, especially among younger workers, there exists an earnings ceiling which cannot be bypassed. The common consensus of the management and aktiv is that this unwillingness is due precisely to the wage system, to the lack of influence by the individual worker on the quality and quantity of his labor.

And in general, during these interviews, while wages were supposed to be the topic, the conversation always veered toward broader subjects--the national economy, organization of the enterprise, etc. It could be thus seen that wages are regarded as an element of more general assessments and not as a cause but as an effect of the existing irregularities, although as a consequence they lead to further economic disturbances.

The blame for relatively low wages is laid at the door of the government or the enterprise management. The government is blamed for an unfair social policy that subsidizes consumption--from which the poor and the rich benefit equally--as well as for curtailing the enterprise's independence in disposing of its own funds and imposing a heavy progressive tax. The management is blamed for lack of independence and initiative in taking wage decisions and streamlining production, as well as for failure to consider market mechanisms.

It is hardly likely that dissatisfaction with wages would cause conflicts transcending the confines of the enterprises in question, even if the wage-price ratio were to deteriorate markedly, owing to the existence of models for relieving this dissatisfaction, models already consolidated in the consciousness of the workforce. Some 70-80 percent of the workforce have second jobs (in gardening, on private construction sites); in this connection, the workforce feels outraged by the fact that the enterprise assigns various--well-paid--tasks to outside contractors and refuses to assign them to its own employees in order not to add thereby to its wage fund and not to make additional payment to the Plant Activization Fund (FAZ).

At the same time, the dominant conviction of the management is that only wage increases could stabilize the workforce and improve the atmosphere, but that very same management also believes that sufficient funds for such increases cannot be set aside. This interest shown by employees in wages is even convenient to the management, especially given its conviction that no improvement in this respect is possible (since this simply relieves the management of responsibility).

Workers call the situation on the consumer market "banditism," "gangsterism," "robbery," along with other, unnamable epithets. They figure the prices of specific consumer goods in terms of hours of work or, more often, days of work. Their attention is absorbed by not so much wages themselves as the cost of living and the ratio between wages and the cost of living (market prices).

In assessing the state of the awareness of workers, allowance should be made for the differences and divisions existing among them along with the notice-

able community of economic interests (the economic sphere is protected despite many antagonisms and even conflicts).

The following differentiation is typical: 1) Younger workers, interested in high earnings attained as rapidly as possible. They are ready to quit their jobs when they decide that they have earned enough. They are rapidly discouraged and look for other work. 2) Older employees, 40 and more years of age, who feel bound to the enterprise. They chiefly complain about prices rather than wages. They derive satisfaction from their job duties, the attendant prestige, and pleasant working relations. 3) Younger workers up to 30 years old, mostly with occupational or secondary technical training. This is the group which has invested most heavily in Solidarity and had hoped to play an organizing role within the enterprise. Most of them already have earned enough to own their own apartments and/or cars. This group, previously the most active, at present feels disappointed and disenchanted. A majority expects a return to better times and some are looking around for new jobs elsewhere. 4) Peasants-workers from suburban environs. Most often they hold unskilled jobs. They are passive, their commitment to work is moderate, and they are reluctant to exert extra effort and ready to quit their jobs at any moment. The others treat them indulgently, jestingly and even contemptuously.

A major issue to workers at present is the new trade unions. The question of what position to take on this issue has caused various divisions among the workforces. We asked this question in an anonymous poll of 269 trade-union activists (of whom 42 percent were members of the former Solidarity and 52 percent belonged to branch trade unions) as well as of the workers of four large industrial plants who had not yet joined the new trade unions.

A majority (68.4 percent) of the aktiv accepted the decision to establish anew a trade-union movement, but only 19 percent of the non-unionists shared this view. Part of the remaining aktiv (25.3 percent) was in favor of resurrecting the activities of all trade unions existing since [as published] December 1981, with the proviso that changes in the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity are needed.

The respondents also were asked their opinion on the new trade-union decree. A majority of the aktiv (59.5 percent) considered the new decree to be democratic and assuring broad rights for trade unions. On the other hand, only 22 percent of non-unionists thought the rights ensuing from that decree to be adequate. The reservations chiefly concerned insufficient rights of the trade unions, inadequate coordination with other laws and the absence of implementing regulations, the failure to consult the workforces about the decree, and the lack of legal protection for trade-union activists after their terms of office expire.

It is worth noting that a definite majority (57 percent) of non-unionists expressed these opinions without being familiar with the decree, and without being interested in its provisions.

A total of 21.6 percent of trade-union aktiv declared that conflicts due to the establishment of new trade unions arose at their plants. These conflicts most often took the form of propaganda drives (flyers) directed against the new trade unions, chicaneries directed against union activists (e.g.

threatening phone calls and letters) and a worsening of interpersonal relations.

Nearly one-half (40.5 percent) of the polled activists perceived irregularities and restrictions in the process of restructuring the trade unions. They pointed to explicit interference by the management and party organizations, restrictions ensuing from legal provisions, attempts to subordinate and manipulate trade unions, disregard of the opinion of unionists and deficient information.

To the question of whether they felt the new trade unions to be independent, 28 percent of the aktiv answered that the independence of the unions was violated. They pointed to the interference by the plant administration and management into trade-union affairs, restrictions ensuing from legal provisions, and the overlapping and crisscrossing of the competences of trade unions and worker self-governments.

In the opinion of both groups polled, the principal and most effective obstacles to the growth in the membership of the new trade unions are: disbelief in the possibility of the formation of unions that would be authentic representatives of employee interests, and lack of trust. Both these barriers are rather viewed in subjective, psychological categories, and the respondents did not specify objective criteria of this mistrust and disbelief.

Trade-union activists consider the decisive factors to be: fear of chicanery by friends and co-workers; a feeling of discouragement due to trade-union experiences prior to December 1981; the influence of the political underground; the conviction that the new trade unions are only temporary; and pressure exerted by members of former Solidarity.

The surveys revealed that a significant role in deciding whether or not to join a new trade union is played by the attitude of supervisory personnel. This is evidenced by the variation in the proportions of trade-union members within the workforce of individual departments and factories depending on the attitude of brigade leaders, foremen and department heads. The aktiv believes that a substantial role also is played by the hostile attitude of a large part of the members of former Solidarity. This is due to the fact that the engineer and technician cadre in large industrial plants had been the initiator and organizer of NSZZ Solidarity.

The aktiv and non-unionists express extremely divergent opinions on the attitudes of workers toward trade unions. As many as 64.3 percent of activists but only 19 percent of non-unionists thought that workers accept the idea of the new trade unions.

The findings also show that the activity of the unions is differently assessed in the awareness of both groups surveyed. The aktiv stresses above all the need to promote social services, alleviate living and working conditions and improve the wage system. In the opinion of non-unionists, on the other hand, the principal problem of the new trade unions is an authentic and honest protection of the interests of workers--the credibility of the new trade unions, with the problems of wages, social services and living conditions ranking second. It can be stated that this difference in views

ensues more from lack of trust and acceptance of the new trade unions than from differing perceptions of the scope of activities of the trade-union movement.

The postulated scope of activities of trade unions largely reflects the problems on which--in the opinion of the respondents--the authorities should consult the unions. Both groups most often identified these problems as: price controls as well as wage adjustments and the attendant problem of the social cost of living. A high proportion of the respondents pointed to the need for consulting working people about all problems. The respondents stressed very strongly the need for genuineness of these consultations, for their real influence on the government's decisionmaking. They feared that the consultations would turn out to be only an empty gesture, a bow by the authorities toward working people.

The evolution of the socio-political situation in the country, the signs of progressing normalization, and especially the recent decisions of the Parliament regarding the abolition of the martial law will of a certainty affect favorably the rebuilding of the trade-union movement. It should be borne in mind, however, that this will not be an easy process.

The provisions of the Decree on Trade Unions should be further popularized. Few are familiar with them. Social acceptance of the new trade unions will largely hinge on whether their aktiv will be capable of utilizing the rights granted under this decree and developing a proper style of work. Thus, trade-union aktiv should be regarded as not only a mirror of social needs but also an active means of promoting a planned process of civic upbringing. It should be a priority to determine the actual level of knowledge and the needs of this social group and specify the forms of education and self-education to be applied to it. These should be considered problems of both theory and practice, because it would be improper if such an important domain of life were to be discussed and governed by persons who often are insufficiently oriented about the surrounding reality. This does not mean, however, that trade-union activists should simply be given directives; this rather concerns a subtle guidance and educational influencing of their continuing personal growth. From the above presentation of the issues considered there ensue far-reaching social consequences.

Jacek Bledowski:

In many discussions of the state of social awareness, both at party meetings and at, e.g. journal panel discussions, attempts at formulating a diagnosis are more numerous than attempts at formulating methods of therapy. This is perhaps natural, because the determination of effective methods of therapy is impossible in the absence of thorough analysis and accurate diagnosis.

Regarding the comments of comrade Kwiatkowski, I believe that surveys or reports on public moods will be highly valuable to the party aktiv. The picture of reality is sufficiently black, distant from its desired condition. It is even difficult to feel surprised that a speech about surveys of the state of social awareness of the working class and youth causes some to experience a virtual paralysis of activism.

It has been repeatedly stated, and this ensues from the present discussion as well, that the key to improving the state of the awareness of our society is in the hands of the party. We find this conviction to be increasingly widespread in Szczecin Province as well. Recently a topic of a plenary session of the Szczecin Province PZPR Committee was increasing the militancy and cohesiveness of basic party organizations. The aktiv and workers of our Province Committee maintain regular contact with plant party organizations and participate in the work of the basic and branch party organizations (POP and OOP). Comments from the aktiv of these organizations often include the declaration: "We know what to do, but, comrades, if you only could tell us how to do it." In my opinion, this is a positive phenomenon. Awareness of the aims, tasks and duties and competence in formulating the program of action of the POPs and OOPs are a result of the work to implement the resolutions of the 9th Congress of our party. Joint exploration of methods of translating the program into reality, refinement of these methods....[as published]...the party and the workers of our....[as published] As yet, the question of how to educate and better influence the society's awareness has not been satisfactorily answered. Thus, attempts at diagnosis must be accompanied more often by an attempt at a rational determination of means of improving the present state [of social awareness].

In accordance with the truism that "one has to be enthused himself before he can enthuse others," we in Szczecin Province devote much work to providing reliable and rapid information to the party aktiv and members. Through the mediation of the regional centers of party work and local centers of ideological indoctrination we have created an increasingly more effective information system. We are organizing systematic training of the aktiv--down to the level of members of POP executive boards inclusively. The availability of the indispensable knowledge and current political information along with awareness of aims and tasks is an indispensable starting point for party organizations and party members if they are to exercise their guiding role properly.

Let me now consider the issue of influencing the awareness of the rising generation. I cannot forget an article by comrade Golebiowski, published in NOWE DROGI in the early 1970s. The article discussed sociological studies of youth. One of the questions asked in these polls was: "Do you believe that youth is idealistic?" A majority of the answers was negative. The other questions asked, which concerned youth's system of values, moral attitudes and patriotism, produced mostly answers which negated that "no" with which the first question was answered. At that time, there was no lack of stereotyped assessment of the attitudes of youth as well as of the causes of negative phenomena among youth. And yet, nowadays the situation and moods of youth are much more complicated. Enemy activities, ideological diversion, have caused particularly tangible confusion and devastation in the minds of youth. The awakening of the consumer needs of society is another negative factor influencing young people who enter upon independent adult life.

The past 3 years have shown how important to youth are not only problems of its existence and prospects but also the history of Poland. It is not a new issue that youth is learning history and the mother language not as it should. At present, urgent changes are needed (and I know that this process is continuing). History textbooks should be adapted to the emotional and mental development of the child. Children cannot be taught history by the rote so

that chiefly they would memorize important dates. The emotions and imagination of the child should be reached. History when so taught will be difficult to overestimate as a means of imbuing the child with love for its fatherland. Memorization of dates and facts will produce no results at all. The celebration of important anniversaries associated with, e.g. commemorating September 1939, should be to the young Pole a patriotic experience and a form of learning how to think rationally and in historical terms.

But of course, the school alone cannot be saddled with the duty of shaping the historical awareness of children and youth. Yet, a great deal hinges on the level and climate of instruction in the history of our native land.

I also believe that, in terms of ideological categories, it is extremely important for the idea of partnership to be universally employed in the work of upbringing youth. This refers not to a partnership that would chiefly mean an increase in youth's privileges--for such an increase must be coupled with a corresponding increase in the duties and co-responsibility of youth for the school, the work establishment, the native region, and the country--but to a partnership construed as a method of inter-generational integration.

The comrades have mentioned the decline in motivation for collective activism. This is difficult to deny without being accused of wishful thinking. We in Szczecin Province have drafted a program for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the return of Western Pomerania to the Motherland. That program was prepared with the participation of scientists, cultural representatives and the management of cultural institutions and work establishments. The implementation of that program and utilization of the patriotic and political significance of that anniversary will serve to stimulate the motivation for individual and collective activism among the public in Szczecin Province. Already during the program-drafting stage we encountered considerable public interest and commitment. We believe that the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the return of Western Pomerania to the Motherland--and earlier still, the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the PRL--should be properly utilized precisely to shape the awareness of Poles. We will want to utilize this to create our own legend about Poland's return to the Western Territories. We want to reach the patriotic feelings of the broadest masses of the citizenry of our country. The farsightedness of the Polish Left, the causative power of Poland's return to the Odra, the Nysa and the Baltic, have to be pointed out to the society. The findings of opinion polls and conclusions drawn from meetings with youth and even with the young intelligentsia, fully justify posing the matter in this manner. We in Szczecin are preparing publications, sessions, exhibitions. At the "Road to a Polish Szczecin" Exhibition we intend to present the historical bonds between Western Pomerania and Poland, the attempts of enlightened Poles to recover the ancient lands of the Piast dynasty, and the political and military struggles for Western Pomerania during World War II. The newspaper GLOS SZCZECINSKI and 12 Mechanized Division imienia People's Army have organized a meeting of photoreporters and a session on the role of military settlers on these lands. Professor Piotr Zaremba is preparing for publication the work "Problemy graniczne Szczecina" [Szczecin's Frontier Problems]. Professor B. Dopierala is working on the book, "Szczecin a Polska, 1772-1945" [Szczecin and Poland, 1772-1945]. We asked Professor W. T. Kowalski to write a script for a television program on the problems of the return of Szczecin to the Motherland as relating to the conferences in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. A group of Szczecin

plastic artists has proposed organizing in Szczecin an all-Polish exhibition of plastic arts under the title "For Peace for the Country and the World," under the auspices of the All-Polish Peace Committee.

We also want to utilize the celebration of the 40th anniversary in order to popularize in our country the great role played by Wladyslaw Gomułka in integrating the Western and Northern Territories with the Motherland.

*

Janusz Reykowski: The aspects you discussed are particularly important to the rising generation. Its knowledge can thus be enhanced and its attempts to question everything can thus to some extent be satisfied.

Jacek Bledowski: Such attempts already are being made. Professor Dopierala teaches history, presents it at a higher-school level, and he has already pointed to these problems.

I discussed in some detail our activities relating to the 40th anniversary because I believe that this anniversary will play an important role in our long-range plan of action--including action intended to influence social awareness and stimulate patriotism and civic activism. Let me add that a major point in our program is effective action to improve the living conditions of the province's population.

The all-Polish importance of the 40th anniversary also affords a chance for deepening the awareness of Poles, propagating knowledge about the benefits of the maritime economy to the country and the bonds linking the entire Poland to the sea.

I was not born in Szczecin. I came there as a student from the interior of the country. But I rapidly became a Szczecin patriot. Many things had surprised me. One of these surprises was that the question of the sea, the issue of Poland's return to the Odra and the Baltic, is not a familiar or vital issue to many of the compatriots from Poland's interior whom I have met. And yet, these are the great problems of the patriotic integration of our society. On the occasion of the celebration of Days of the Sea in Szczecin last June, Minister Korzonek recalled that before the war Days of the Sea were celebrated along every fragment of seashore in Poland. But now?

As regards comrade Rainko's speech introducing our discussion, I wish to mention the clear and explicit growth of social activism, especially in the smaller localities in Szczecin Province. Sometimes this is a result of the passion and commitment of several individuals. There is a growing number of socio-cultural initiatives in the cities and villages of our province.

Janusz Reykowski:

I would like first of all to discuss briefly the factors that shape the awareness of our society. The point of departure for my reflections is a consideration of the state of that awareness. Let me at the outset express a proviso concerning the opinions I will voice on this topic: there exists a natural tendency for generalizing one's own opinions and those of one's

immediate milieu. This is a mistake which psychologists term "the fallacy of the false consensus," the mistaken belief that "most people think as we do." This fallacy is universal. I believe that this also has applied again and again to individuals connected with the opposition. But this fallacy also applies to the party aktiv. This may be exemplified by the fact that many party activists felt surprised and even "scared" by what they had seen during the visit of John Paul II to Poland. Surprise and fear demonstrate that the mood of the society was mistakenly evaluated and false expectations were formulated. And yet, nothing had happened during that visit that could not have been expected on the basis of an attentive observation of the public mood. Still, quite a few party activists "let themselves be surprised." Now it is obvious that the proper selection of instruments for influencing the social reality is inconceivable unless one knows how to take proper notice of the public mood.

In order to perceive that reality more clearly, the impressions produced by one's own limited range of experiences should be gotten rid of. Of invaluable assistance in this respect could be properly prepared and systematically conducted studies of the social realities. In this context, the work of Col Kwiatkowski as well as the topics he presented here deserve special attention.

Thus while I am aware that opinions on the state of social awareness require considerable hedging in view of the ease with which one may fall into the trap of the abovementioned fallacy, I am inclined to agree with the opinion that a mood of discouragement and skepticism in face of the party's numerous propaganda slogans reigns within a large part of the society.

What are the main sources of that discouragement and skepticism?

If the nature of these sources is to be properly grasped, we have to consider that moment in the history of our nation when communists had seized power in Poland. As known, they seized it by revolutionary means. This means that they questioned the traditional procedures for the transfer of power. They had seized it, because they had sufficient strength for that, but at the same time they assumed certain historic obligations. Namely, they obligated themselves to pursue a policy of implementing the principles of social justice, which meant that they would assure the socio-economic and cultural advancement of the popular masses.

It is worth noting that the historical rationale for the seizure of power in Poland by the communist forces had also consisted in that, within the framework of the postwar European order, it was precisely communists who were able of assuring the best conditions for Poland.

Now, 40 years later, on assessing the implementation of these obligations, it can be said that a great deal has been accomplished. In particular, an extremely rapid advancement of huge masses of working people took place during the first 15 or so postwar years. The material, political and educational advancement of peasants and workers has been tremendous. And by now the Polish countryside has changed unrecognizably. Despite the recurring slowdowns, this advancement of the masses has been the main premise for the credibility of the authorities in the Polish society and, I believe, it was decisive to their fundamental acceptance by the society, regardless of the number and nature of pretensions voiced against the authorities.

With time, however, this advancement has been increasingly slower. As recently as in the first half of the 1970s the number of those ascending the social ladder had still been much higher than that of those descending it. But in the second half of the 1970s the situation changed. The still fragmentary data available to sociologists seem to indicate that during that period upward mobility became increasingly rare and downward mobility increasingly frequent.

This trend reversal is linked to the altered economic situation of our country. Universal advancement had been possible owing to the growing number of vacancies on the higher rungs of the ladder of socio-economic status. These vacancies increase when a country's economy grows. But when that growth comes to a standstill, there is a lack of vacancies for those who want to move upward.

How can this situation be reflected in social awareness? Of course, it may produce various effects, depending on the principles underlying the structure of a society in which reigns a universal conviction that its system will secure continual advancement for the popular masses; for then, when the advancement is halted, a question mark arises--does the system of that society accomplish what it is pledged to accomplish, that is, does it prove itself?

Thus when comrade Wasilewski declared that people have lost faith in socialist industrialization, he at the same time mentioned that trust in the program slogans of the socialist authorities has been undermined.

A psychological factor contributing to such a public mood should be mentioned--the tendency to assess the past from the perspective of the present. Thus, if one believes that the present is bad, one also believes that all that had preceded and prepared the present situation was bad. Hence the inclination to think that "we have little and in general we have not accomplished anything."

The views of various social groups on the present situation also are colored by its comparison with the program slogans of socialism. The main criterion for this comparison is the principle of social justice--that core of the socialist program.

The idea of justice has been inscribed on the revolutionary banners of workers for decades. But how can this idea be implemented in practice?

As known, the most elementary and primitive form of that idea, the so-called "uravnilovka" [a Russian term meaning roughly "egalitarianism"] has not proved itself in social life. Attempts to introduce it have always ended in economic catastrophe and sudden intensification rather than relaxation of social tensions.

Another way of implementing the idea of justice is the consistent adherence to the principle of equal start for all and the translation into reality of the socialist postulate "to each according to his labor." But so far we have not been able to implement this postulate.

Yet another, and so far most effective, form of implementing the principle of social justice has been the universal advancement of the masses. To be sure,

this advancement has never been uniform for all social groups, but it does not either result in the abolition of differences among various segments of society. Even so, so long as this advancement occurs, that is, so long as everyone's condition improves sooner or later, the inequalities associated with such mobility are accepted. But, as apparently ensues from comments by economists, this path has become blocked for a prolonged period of time.

There is one other way of translating into reality the slogan of justice--"trimming the edges," that is, taking from those who have more and giving to those who have less. This appears to be the most popular method.

Thus, summing up this part of my reflections, I can say that a major factor in the present ideological situation is the fact that at the moment, owing to the stagnation of the economy--a stagnation due to both internal, structural factors and external, international factors--we are not properly implementing the obligation assumed by the authorities at the time when they had become the authorities, the obligation which would make them credible in the eyes of the society.

But--what is more important--we must realize that we will probably be unable for a long time to implement this obligation by the methods used so far. Thus we face a great task. The future of the country and of course the future of socialist rule hinges on the manner in which we cope with this challenge.

But in facing this challenge we also have to realize another important fact, which defines the party's situation in the society. This fact cannot be formulated as the statement that the party has lost its monopoly over ideology in the country. To be sure, that monopoly has never been total, but now institutions transmitting different ideologies have a much broader field of action. I am not certain whether all those who attend at various levels to the issue of ideological influence have considered in sufficient depth the consequences of this situation. Are they adapting styles of work to the ensuing needs?

It should be emphasized that this is not just a matter of institutions that transmit other ideologies. The point is that within the society there exist other authoritative voices which affect social awareness tremendously.

Obviously, in such a situation the approach to exerting ideological influence has to be completely changed.

In such a situation those who stubbornly repeat their rationales without considering their audiences have no chances for reaching the minds of the masses. Neither do those who, assuming the pose of an omniscient authority, proclaim truths which they consider to be the sole valid truths, have any chances.

And the effect produced may be completely opposite to that intended by those whom the fixed idea of being right impels to attack fiercely ideas which appear right to many people because they emanate from a respected authority--attacking such ideas may readily result in the rejection and discrediting of those who undertake such attacks.

A situation in which divergent ideological authoritative voices co-exist offers a great challenge to all those who attend to activities on the ideological front. I believe that such a situation requires certain particular attitudes and capabilities.

First, it requires that we understand well the feelings and thoughts of those whom we want to convince.

Second, it requires respect for other orientations and the ability to reach an accord via dialogue. Dialogue means adaptation of conversational style to the partner as well as listening to the partner and modifying one's own position under the influence of his arguments. But above all, dialogue means the ability to distinguish properly between what links and what divides.

I have the impression that many people view differently the manner in which ideological influence should be exerted. To them it consists in creating the appearances that the views which they consider valid are the dominant views. This is to be promoted by organizing great spectacles and repeating through all the mass media their ideas as unquestioned truths which others must understand sooner or later--and if they do not understand, so much the worse for them.

Does such a view on exerting ideological influence have a chance for success? Its proponents believe so. They expect that after some time a growing number of those currently unconvinced will be drawn toward their side. All that is needed is to be patient and persistent.

It is worth noting that views of this kind have already been encountered two score or so years ago. In the 1940s, when Marxism was only beginning to win positions in our country, it had been said that hearts and minds would be won through gradual, tenacious ideological work. But now, after nearly 40 years, we should not repeat the same argument. Patience in itself and tenacious repetition of the same rationales in itself are not necessarily bound to produce successful results.

This does not mean that I am opposed to "patience"--the point, after all, is that one has to be patient in such matters. Patient repetition does not seem much. But the aforementioned strategy for exerting ideological influence through the creation, by means of the mass media, of a certain canon of ideological thinking--a canon which is to be universally binding and accepted by a majority of thinking people--has yet another flaw, namely, it produces the illusion that the desirable condition is a real condition. Those who contributed to creating this illusion also are themselves subject to it. It is owing precisely to this illusion that surprise, disappointment and fright are experienced when it turns out that millions of people do not fit within that canon.

Hence also when during the present discussion I hear reflections on ways and means of adapting the mass media more to that canon, my impression is that we are not on a good path. After all, the ways in which the mass mind can be reached require some pondering. How can a common language for it be found? Thus, e.g. the statement that Gomulka should be publicized is not enough in itself. The question of what will people read has to be considered.

Jacek Bledowski: They will read about Gomulka.

Janusz Reykowski: It depends on what will be written and how. But the point is not whether Gomulka should be written about--obviously, the personality of that eminent politician, who occupies such an important place in the history and destiny of our people, which has not been lacking tragic moments, deserves deeper exploration. But what is needed is thinking about what should be said, so that the result would not be speaking to oneself alone.

Another thing: fear is a poor adviser of ideological activity. Yet, many party activists seem to act under the impression that they are surrounded by enemies who are capable of infiltrating everything about them: trade unions, self-governments, the movement for national accord, the renascent clubs. It can be said that to some comrades any public activity that does not converge with the vision constructed at the plant party committee is a dangerous and perhaps even hostile activity which should be neutralized as soon as possible, and not through ideological confrontation but through administrative measures at that.

Such an attitude is suicidal to ideological activities. Perhaps it is needless here to consider this question further--it is so obvious. It would rather be more indicated for us to consider what to do in order to overcome this issue of "exterminating the enemies," which is the opposite of a genuine ideological debate. This does not mean that there will not occur any instances of the utilization of various ways and means to destabilize political life in the country and to attempt to compromise the party's policy. But such instances should not be combatted with medicines which are worse than the disease itself.

Jerzy Ladyka:

Just what is the nature of that monologue characterizing the dialogue being implemented by the party? After all, it is a fact that the party is conducting a genuine dialogue with all who respect the principles of humanism and are prompted by motives of patriotism--and they include Catholics, former members of Solidarity, etc. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) translates into reality the slogan of dialogue and national accord. Does this "monologism" characterize the party's program and the practice of its leading organs? Can it be perceived in the practice of the party's lower-level elements?

Janusz Reykowski:

If I understand this question properly, this concerns the manner in which the dialogue should be construed and whether the existing institutions already provide a sufficient platform for the dialogue.

Question of how dialogue differs from monologue in socio-political life deserves broader discussion. In this place, to illustrate my viewpoint, I referred to examples provided by the PRON's activities: this concerns a situation in which PRON activists or elements turn to the authorities with various opinions and postulates. The response they receive is not an isolated instance: "We here at the top know well what should be done and shall try to do it as best as we can--thus, your comments are not very needful to us. As

for you yourselves, you should attend to influencing the society, shaping and educating it."

Now such a formula is a formula for monologue--it assumes that there is no point to listening to "those among the grassroots," that it is necessary to transmit [directives] and possibly also to explain and clarify but not to listen. By contrast, dialogue essentially means listening to the partner's views and considering to what extent they are justified; it also requires considering whether, and to what extent, one's own rationales can be reconciled with those of the partner.

As for the PRON as the platform on which this dialogue is held, I believe that so far it still has not been sufficiently broadened to reach many important segments of the society; thus the participants in the dialogue still continue to be chiefly those who have long since found a common language with the authorities.

In conclusion, I wish to state that the manner in which various party elements are active ideologically among the masses is burdened by the "tradition of centralism," which assumes that a stream of explanations, directives and interpretations flows from a certain specific source, and that the others (i.e. the "grassroots") are simply to receive that stream. Here I try to defend the view that in the present era--in a situation of "ideological pluralism," as well as owing to educational progress, a new concept based on dialogue has to be assumed. Dialogue does not--clearly--consist in the loss of one's own ideological identity; it presupposes that ideas and thoughts flow in both directions.

Janusz Ludwiczak:

I agree with the view that aspects of social awareness have to be considered on the basis of regularly updated surveys. Social awareness as such is not something constant and does not evolve spontaneously. It arises, grows and changes owing to, among other things, experience gained in the course of social development, the influence of ongoing educational processes and the observation of occurrences of everyday life.

The process of the shaping of social awareness is a complex and prolonged process. It occurs at a much slower pace than do the changes in the economic or political domains. In our society relics of petty-bourgeois and conservative awareness and attitudes susceptible to liberalist views still persist, even among party members. This has enabled the opponent, especially in recent times, to reach certain segments of our society. From this standpoint considered, the quality of social awareness becomes especially important.

It is difficult at present, in the absence of even public opinion surveys, to determine accurately the extent and permanence of the imprint left by the activities of anti-socialist forces in the consciousness of our society and its particular classes, strata and groups. The statement can be hazarded, though, that the greatest devastation and vacillation of views occurred in the minds of youth, the intelligentsia and the rising generation of the working class. Hence I believe that our indoctrination work should continue to require popularizing, in a manner accessible to the entire society, the aims

of socialism, the assumptions of the strategy for the country's socio-economic growth and the causes and effects of the existing difficulties, as well as systematic clarification of the nature of the current problems and the significance of current socio-economic and political tasks. The explanation of the role and importance of labor acquires a special importance in shaping the socialist awareness of the society. This concerns explaining the nature of labor as a right and a duty, making it clear that labor is the principal way of surmounting the difficulties, emerging from the crisis and developing the country successfully. The conviction that work is the basis for social and material advancement and the chief criterion for evaluating individuals should be promoted. This must be confirmed by practice above all. In this connection, I wish to emphasize the role and importance of the work establishment, the enterprise, as an important educational milieu that shapes social awareness. This refers especially to such elements of the work establishment as norms for co-existence within the collective, discipline, the feeling of responsibility for oneself and others, the ambition to perform one's duties honestly, solidity, concern for the common good. Of great importance to shaping the attitudes and social awareness of the enterprise workforces is the ideological-political attitude and upbringing activity of the top- and middle-level managerial cadre, especially of foremen and brigade leaders, who should be not only production organizers but also educators of worker teams.

The influence of that cadre on shaping social awareness, on workforce attitudes, was extremely noticeable in August 1980. In this place I wish to stress that, appreciating the role of the work establishment as an educational milieu, the Skierniewice Province party organization held in 1982 a plenary session of the PZPR Province Committee on this topic and drafted guidelines for the activity of party organizations with the object of continuing and developing the educational function of the province's work establishments. We paid considerable attention to indoctrination work among middle-level supervisory personnel, to enriching forms of political-educational work with foremen.

In speaking of the importance of the managerial cadre in work establishments to shaping social awareness I also refer to the cadre of institutions, public organizations and state administration. The director, the chief, any functionary, every official--especially if he is a party member--bears the responsibility not only for performing his regular job duties but also for the attitude of the employee collective which he directs. On him rests the obligation of strengthening the authority of the authorities, presenting the policy of the party and the government and identifying himself with that policy in his everyday activities. This is something that we lack nowadays. For the evolution of social awareness is influenced by both general matters and extremely particular, individual and sometimes trivial matters.

Let me draw attention to one other question. To wit, the socialist system, unlike other, previous systems of society, requires the conscious participation and commitment of working people, and especially of the working class, in building it. That conscious participation hinges on familiarity with and understanding of the laws governing the life of the society and the class struggle. It hinges on familiarity with the process of building socialism in our country, and hence also on familiarity with the program and tasks of the party.

Hence the unremitting need for conducting a dialogue between the party and the working class, between the party and the society. Hence the need for the party to be among the people every day. Hence the need for the party's activity as the authentic representative of the working class. In this dialogue, on the one hand, the party should listen attentively to the objective needs, desires and aspirations of individual groups of working people and, on the other, it should shape in a planned, systematic and patient manner a socialist social awareness consonant with the true interests of the working class.

As practice indicates, the party cannot allow or tolerate an unplanned development of social awareness, but neither should it impose its point of view or attitude if a given social group is not properly prepared for it. We must gradually--especially at present--shape social awareness in such a manner as to win over people to the party's program, to the country's development that is consonant with the aims of the socialist system of society. This is particularly important nowadays in view of the relatively young population of our country, the high proportion of young people among the working class. We must, however, avoid the mistakes made in the past, in the sense that, among other things, lofty assumptions of ideology had diverged from the practice of everyday life.

It is impossible here to omit the situation of Marxism in our intellectual and ideological life. Marxism is the basic theory of socialist practice as well as a way of conceiving the world and society. Any neglect in this domain would at once result in the rise of alien influences and ideological concepts. It is necessary nowadays to formulate as an urgent postulate for the party intellectual milieux that they should intensify the pace of Marxist studies and strengthen the position of Marxism in academic instruction. This is a matter whose importance cannot be underestimated. And yet, we have observed a marked regression in this field in recent years. Marxism at present is being treated rather formally instead of accompanying our practice and illuminating it with its thought and methodology. It is moreover gradually ceasing to participate in our entire intellectual life. Much has to be changed here in order to eliminate these evident shortcomings. To this end, Marxist cadres should be strengthened and the conditions for their steady growth assured. As regards universal national education, too, new more effective and attractive forms of introducing Marxism into human consciousness should be considered. These tasks must be undertaken by the entire party, and especially by its ideological and theoretician aktiv.

We are witnessing an exacerbation of ideological struggle in the contemporary world. This situation applies to us too. Our country has recently been an arena of great political and ideological struggles for the existence of socialism. We have emerged politically victorious from the battle. But we still face a long-term ideological struggle. In ideology the victory is not immediate, and neither are the successes immediate. We need tenacity, consistency, considerable ability and stubbornness.

Our party is a party of struggle for national accord, as has been repeatedly emphasized in the speeches of first secretary, comrade Jaruzelski. We must struggle to convince the unconvinced ones, as well as to combat open political and ideological enemies. In each of these cases a different strategy is needed. The declared enemy has to be pushed out and defeated, while the

vacillating one has to be won over. In this struggle for the awareness of some and against the awareness and undertakings of others, we must ourselves gain the needed experience and learn, always bearing in mind Marx's recommendation and warning that the educators should first be educated themselves.

We face a great task in the domain of social awareness. Socialism cannot be built without a socialist awareness. This truth should permeate the entire party and become a permanent foundation for our actions.

Stefan Opara:

I had feared that our talk on social awareness in Poland was menaced by glittering generalizations. After all, "social awareness" is one of the broadest and semantically most capacious categories of historical materialism. But our aim is incontestably not to analyze Polish social awareness from the standpoint of the entire wealth of its forms, contents and conditions. The prefatory comments indicate that the topic of our discussion is primarily one aspect of Polish social awareness, namely, the ideological-political aspect. Thus, this concerns the ideas of Poles about socialism, the state authorities, the party and its role, and the sources of the crisis and ways of surmounting it, etc.

I wish to add to this specific aspect. In the context of a theoretical analysis of our main problem it appears useful to distinguish between three different planes. Both the comments made so far and the scientific studies as well as publicistics do not treat of these planes uniformly. What are these planes?

First, there is the plane of description and evaluation, a plane defined by the question of what is the state of the ideological-political awareness of the Polish society within its discrete classes and strata, of what is that state like in breakdown by age groups, cities and the countryside, regions, occupational groups, etc.

Secondly, there is the plane of interpretation, defined by the question of why is the awareness situation such and no other, what are the main sources and determinants of such and no other ideological and political views of our countrymen.

And third and last, there appears the plane of futurological analyses, which is closely linked to practical problems, to the question of what should be done and how in order to effectively influence the future state of social awareness in its aspect that is of interest to us, and how and in what directions should transformations of collective ideas about ideological and political themes be caused.

As I pointed out previously, not on all these planes of analysis can we formulate opinions with the same feeling of knowledge, clarity and unanimity. And yet, if we want as Marxists to take some part in the "government of souls" in our society, we should dispose of sufficient knowledge and principled assessments in all these planes.

What is the related situation like at present? Let me express tersely my position on the problems mentioned above.

The description of the state of ideological-political awareness in Poland is based on rather fragmentary and unsystematically conducted public opinion surveys; analyses of questions, letters and complaints addressed to the mass media or the organs of the authorities; various indirect indicators (e.g. the figures on political crimes, the intensification of anti-socialist slogans or flyers, etc.); and lastly, on personal observations and intuitions. It is an unusually positive thing that as of recently these channels of information on the state of social awareness are being strengthened and made more scientific. I have noticed that many province [party] committees--as also confirmed by comrade Ludwiczak's comments--conduct questionnaire polls fairly regularly at work establishments. Of major significance also is the establishment of the government center for public opinion surveys headed by comrade Kwiatkowski, who has provided an interesting description of the activities of that new center.

I believe that we should construct our picture of social awareness on scientific foundations rather than on intuition and individual impressions elevated to the rank of universal laws. Here let me briefly comment on the assessments of the Pope's visit. Our opponents attempt to impose on us the assessment (which conflicts, besides, with the declarations of the Pope himself and the Episcopate) that the mass gatherings of the faithful were a demonstration of ideological-political attitudes opposed to socialism. These assessments are even accepted by part of the party aktiv. I believe that such assessments are mistaken. For these demonstrations were primarily of a religious-patriotic nature and the opponents of socialism had attempted (without any major success) to transform them into political demonstrations. The pope is welcomed by masses everywhere in the world and this does not mean demonstrations against the authorities. The fact that in Poland such crowds had welcomed the Polish Pope should not amaze anyone. One has to be familiar with the contemporary Church doctrine and the contemporary world in order to know that faith in God does not result in a political attitude. And those who might have forgotten that Catholics are a majority in Poland were now able to ascertain it. Mainly this and nothing else.

At the same time, I believe that there are many reasons for assessing as disturbing the present state of ideological-political awareness in our country. This is a state which harbors in itself the germs of dramatic prospects unless it is altered. For we are dealing with an irrationalization of awareness, a distortion of the image of socialism, a decline in constructive and civic activism, a crisis of the motivation for work, a growth of prejudices and historical myths, and a decline in the trust in the party as a credible guide toward the proclaimed lofty aims of our ideology.

There remains the question of the causes of these phenomena. Insofar as the relative common consensus is that the state of social awareness is not good, the explanations advanced vary. Some want to place the entire blame for that poor state of awareness on the external and internal enemies of socialism who, by means of their propaganda, supposedly are responsible for all negative ideological-political attitudes. Others look for the causes in the Polish "national character," alleging that Poles are traditionally anarchic, dislike the authorities, work badly, etc. Interpretations of this type (although often encountered in our publicistics) not only are clearly one-sided but also disregard the main theses of historical materialism which proclaims, after

all, that the nature (both genuine and false) of social awareness is defined by social existence and this is precisely where are to be found the causes of what Poles think and believe nowadays with regard to ideological and political questions. The flaws of our economic base and superstructural institution, the changes in the conditions of social advancement--as mentioned by Prof Reykowski--along with the technical and technological superiority of the leading countries of capitalism, the influence of the Western way of life (inclusive of the model of consumption), the deviation from class-oriented proletarian principles in domestic policies, the facade-like nature of democracy, the low productivity and poor organization of labor, and even the ratio of the zloty to Western currencies--all this provides the real background indispensable to the development of anti-socialist propaganda or the activation of stereotypes of the past.

As regards prospects--here I pass over to the third plane--of special importance is not only the improvement in ways and means of influencing social awareness but also and above all a change in the nature of propaganda. Honest identification of the sources of the crisis and our present-day deficiencies, as well as consistent criticism of these sources must become a particularly important element of our indoctrination and propaganda activities. We should not yield to the opponent the monopoly over criticism of our defects. We should not act ecstatic over everything that is, because then we shall never repair mistakes and fulfill the recommendations of the 9th Congress. The good sides and accomplishments of socialism are incontestable. But the party activist and Marxist cannot adopt an exclusively apologetic attitude and act as if he did not perceive defects and weaknesses--as then he would lose credibility and the ability to struggle for progress. Criticism of flaws in the present is a prerequisite for progress in the future. For after all the idea of progress is the excelsior of our ideology.

I think that both the elected party organs and the Marxist social sciences can find most rapidly a common language with broad masses of the society if they will discuss candidly not only the accomplishments but also the flaws and imperfections of our social life and the methods for combatting these flaws effectively. The possibility of transformations in social awareness is harbored not in appeals and paternalistic instructions but in mobilizing the society to surmount properly identified flaws. The chances for the party's and Marxism's influence on transformations in ideological-political awareness in our country exist not in words, no matter how eloquent they may be, but in deeds based on constructive criticism.

Rudolf Golonka:

We devote considerable attention to problems of social, political, national and statehood awareness in our province. Both the province party organizations and the scientific workers in our province are working on this problem. In the last 2 years the province party echelon has considered this problem twice. On 21 November 1981 and 1 July of this year the province party committee held plenums dealing with the party's tasks in shaping the socialist awareness of the population of Opole Province. The staffs of the Silesian Institute and the WSP [Higher Party School] have been conducting surveys of political awareness in our province for some time. These surveys resulted in the publication of the books, "Kultura polityczna mieszkancow Slaska Opolskiego" [Political Culture of the Inhabitants of Opole Silesia], by Wl. Jacher and B. Reiner, Opole, 1980, and "Mlodziwojwodztwa opolskiego na przelomie lat siedemdziesiatych i osiemdziesiatych" [Youth of Opole Province

in the Late 1970s and Early 1980s], by W. Jacher, T. Michalczyk and St. Zagorny, Opole, 1983. Studies of certain aspects of the socio-political awareness of workers in the production plants of Opole Province were conducted by Prof Dr. Habilitatus T. Gospodarek of the Opole Higher Party School. These studies deal with the last 10 years. I am not mentioning earlier studies.

These recent studies appear to point to some difference between the views, attitudes and aspirations of the older and younger generations in Opole Silesia. The reasons for these differences vary.

The older generation in our province is particular case of a generation whose awareness was shaped by special conditions. In the immediate postwar years two processes had been concurrent in our province: one, economic reconstruction, and the other, social integration. This latter process, which in principle has been completed, has transformed the then existing ethnic, cultural, religious and political conglomeration into a generally coherent organism which is part of the Polish state and nation. Nowadays in principle we do not observe on a macro-scale conflicts among settlers or cultural or world-outlook conflicts. On the other hand, on the micro-scale the process of integration has been slower.

Sociological studies point to the fundamental conclusion that the adult population of Opole Province holds politically balanced views, that is, views equally distant from both stereotyped mistrust of the authorities and uncritical trust in the authorities. Pragmatism, rationalism and realism are the typical features of the attitudes of the adult generation toward the authorities, institutions and officialdom. The adult citizens of our province desire to influence and control the authorities, although in some local communities there appears a disturbing phenomenon which could be termed the avoidance of civic activism. In this sphere the movement is not too confident, and hence the socio-cultural patterns followed by the adult generation in Opole Province tend toward an explicit scission of the private sphere from the public sphere. The frequent conviction is that politics and ideology are the domain of activist authorities rather than of the ordinary citizen, although here we meet with sharp criticism of these tendencies by other social groups. For example, a worker wrote: "The concept of political awareness should be interpreted as the full implementation of the provisions of the PZPR Statute, honest and conscientious implementation of the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee, and active participation in fulfilling social and economic tasks." Another wrote, on the other hand: "Political awareness means taking a broader view of what is happening in the country. It means understanding the needs of the country and the entire society instead of following personal or group interests. Political awareness also means understanding the aims and aspirations of the state on the international arena, with allowance for the objective current political realities of our country."

How then is youth to be viewed against the background or the adult society? This may be a rhetorical question, because every individual, implementing his individual program of values and goals, assimilates the mandatory and universalized patterns, models and principles of behavior.

The surveys indicate that youth believes that honesty is the best character trait, and that this should be coupled with competence in living, tolerance and ability to adapt to the reality, to the situation. Political commitment

and political and ideological activism were ranked last. On the basis of its observation of life, the youth of Opole Province acknowledged that a factor facilitating life and work is, in principle, occupational and professional ability along with such other factors as: participation in governing, having friends and benefiting from their help, and the assistance of political and social organizations.

In the recent period the following three facts left the strongest imprint on the minds of youth in Opole Province (1982 surveys): the formation of Solidarity, the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, and the proclamation of martial law. The question of the expediency of proclaiming martial law was answered positively by: 43.6 percent of higher-school students; 35.7 percent of students of secondary and vocational schools; 58 percent of youth working in the artisan trades and services; 47 percent of worker youth; 73.9 percent of rural youth. The party and its activities are closely watched by youth. In the opinion of youth, the party should meet the following conditions in order to regain the trust it has forfeited: alter the program and style of its action, care for a high moral level of its members and consistently (really) implement the program it has outlined for itself.

The surveys indicate that for the most part youth has a positive attitude toward socialism as a system of society, perceiving it as existing rather in the sphere of theory without attempting a more practical treatment of the system-of-society realities of socialism. Hence we observe the ease with which the rising generation criticizes the socio-political programs of certain organizations.

I think that a major obstacle to the refinement of socio-political attitudes is the defects of our society, the lack of social sophistication, the disdainful attitude toward the real accomplishments of the nation, the proneness to blacken these accomplishments, the inability to co-exist with the surroundings, the weak commitment to work.

Here one could cite as examples the Soviet Union or England where certain matters are "sacred" to citizens and to their ideological-political and patriotic orientations that have been perpetuated by their upbringing.

The process of transformations of awareness is a difficult and prolonged phenomenon and the success with which it is carried out hinges on the consistency, pertinacity and patience with which this task is implemented. It is difficult nowadays to imagine attempting these transformations considering that, e.g. some 30,000 of newly hired teachers for the 1982/1983 school years lacked teacher training. How can thus the schools implement their upbringing tasks? At present, aside from youth organizations, the schools are not sufficiently influencing the minds of students by means of various kinds of artistic and other extracurricular activities, soirees, academies, etc. In think that our teachers should be trained in such activities.

The schools lack the teaching aids needed for instruction in civics and preliminary political knowledge. I have observed that participants in various kinds of meetings are not always competent in discussion and polemics. We lack that competence as well as, perhaps above all, appropriate knowledge. For how can one be reconciled to the fact that theories and opinions of a provenance often to us have met with such willing ears among many? Why has it been so

easy to inoculate lack of faith in our achievements, cancel out the nearly 40 years of all our accomplishments?

A major role is to be played by the managerial cadre at all levels, chiefly at industrial work establishments. That cadre works with and influences the working class on a daily basis. We cannot be indifferent to the behavior of that cadre and the attitudes it presents. The opinion of one respondent about the technical intelligentsia sounds like an accusation: "There is a general mistrust in the effectiveness of action of the party and the government. This attitude of the working class is tremendously and negatively influenced by the attitude of the so-called technical intelligentsia. Officially, that intelligentsia is in accord with the party's undertakings, but the feeling is that it sabotages them or, to put it more tactfully, causes them to go awry."

The point is not to disqualify the technical intelligentsia and infer catastrophic conclusions from isolated instances but to perceive more sharply the problems of the exemplar-providing role of this group in the production plant.

Stanislaw Wronski:

The current state of social awareness--why it is such and no other, and how to improve it--is the topic of our broad discussion today.

Problems of this kind, among others, have already been the subject of a previous panel discussion in *NOWE DROGI*, issue 1-2, 1982. We shall refer to it, because so much depends on social awareness, particularly in the new system of society being formed--socialism. I say "so much" rather than "everything," because scientific socialism has claimed from the outset that /it is not enough for the idea itself to motivate people to translate it into reality. What is needed also is for reality to motivate people toward that idea./ [printed in boldface] Here let me draw attention to two methods employed by the enemies of socialism in Poland in recent years with the object of muddying awareness and subsequently promoting the erosion of the ideas of socialism.

The first method is belittling--pushed to the verge of negating--anything that is positive, everything that has changed in the life of the nation within the framework of the socialist statehood. The reality, which should motivate people toward the ideals of socialism, is always the most menacing opponent of the bourgeoisie and of the adherents of its ideology on every geographic latitude. Such is the importance and ideological dimension acquired by not only every accomplishment but also every misstep, every mistake and every defeat, and along with this by the overall balance sheet of the development of every socialist country.

The overall balance sheet of Poland throughout the period since the proclamation of the July [1944] Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN) till the present is definitely on the plus side.

Painting the reality only in black colors, denying the existence of the positive transformations in Poland achieved thanks to the socialist road of development, and totally criticizing the purpose of industrialization, as

mentioned by comrade Wasilewski, which is even reared into a theory of the pointlessness of work, etc.--all this is to deprive socialism of the crowning argument in favor of it, represented by the reality, by the real and positive transformations in the life of the nation achieved within a relatively short period of time and despite the unusually difficult starting conditions in the immediate postwar period, transformations that are an undeniable fact. This hardly new line of hostile propaganda proclaiming the collapse of socialism has been facilitated by the cardinal mistakes we committed in building socialism--mistakes which the opponent wants to use like a black curtain to veil everything. The witchcraft of that propaganda has been favored by the explosion of demands which cannot be realistically met. These demands, particularly on the part of youth fascinated by the shopwindows of the West, struck like a ricocheting bullet at everything that has been done for that youth. This has been accompanied by attitudes of nihilism and pessimism, and by the neglect of the upbringing of youth--this being one of the severest accusations. It must be admitted that had it not been for our own mistakes and objective difficulties as well as the obstacles placed by forces opposed to socialist development, our achievements would have been much, much greater and crises would have been unnecessary. This was mentioned by comrade Jaruzelski.

The absence of self-criticism on our part, a self-criticism that would purify the ideas and practice of socialism, was replaced on the part of the opponents by total criticism of socialism. The reality, which is in favor of socialism, cannot be nullified. Those in favor of it are older people who have had a hard life since their youth, workers, peasants and the intelligentsia who are aware of and have taken an active part in these transformations which have occurred in the living conditions of the last few generations. Besides, anyway, we are not praising the entire reality: socialism has not yet been built in Poland. I agree with comrade Opara that, once socialism is built, this will not result in the disappearance of phenomena impeding development. It is no accident that the opponent avoids the method of an honest drawing-up of the balance sheet of the past and an honest evaluation of the reality.

Socialism can be subjected to historical examination without fears, without overlooking any negative occurrences or phenomena in daily life, without omitting mistakes and negligences occurring in the activities of individuals and institutions. It is open to any audit, because accomplishments on a historic scale are recorded in its account. /Unless constant reminders are made about that balance sheet for the entire period and for every day, not only on the scale of the entire country but also on that of the region, the city, the village, the peasant farm, and the life of every family, the shaping of socialist social awareness is impossible. This is a prerequisite for going over to an ideological offensive./[printed in boldface] This is difficult but necessary also to shaping the reality itself and, in particular, eliminating negative phenomena from it.

In addition to the above-mentioned tack, the opponents have assumed a guise for discrediting socialism in Poland--the guise of purity of intelligence, a high morality, patriotism, concern for independence and the nation. They have resorted to the cross and to symbols of the struggle of the Home Army (AK) during the Hitlerite occupation, to emotions and myths, to nationalist hatreds, to faith and gullibility. All this is abuse. The brutal struggle to overthrow the existing system of society and seize power--that power which they failed to

attain in 1944--is being conducted in sacred national vestments. The ring-leaders in that struggle lack any scruples at all and refuse to acknowledge any accomplishment of People's Poland, because it is not their accomplishment. The present boundaries of Poland, the recovery of the ancient lands of the Piast dynasty, have not been won by their cross or their sword. The boundaries and security of Poland today would have collapsed like a house of cards. They give no credit to Polish communists for any services to the nation. Yet, after all, it was the program, struggle and affirmation of Polish communists that have largely contributed to the accomplishments of People's Poland.

Who are, properly speaking, those individuals who praise and even call patriotic the snail's pace of work, the relaxation of work discipline, the disorganization of production, the boycotting of the orders of the state authorities, the anarchy? Who are those who appeal for passive mass resistance? What country can this benefit? Who abroad rejoices at such behavior? How is the concept of patriotism and independence interpreted by Kolakowski--a man who praises Reagan for decisions injurious to the interests of the Polish people? How are we to evaluate the morality of individuals who demonstrate their opposition views in the country and, in many cases, get paid for it from abroad? Who were and are these individuals in patriotic guise and what are their intentions? /Removing their guises is the second prerequisite for going over to the ideological offensive: this will promote propagating social awareness and the truth./[printed in boldface]

But, to return to our point of departure, I wish to stress that we should not fall prey to the illusion that we shall purge minds of unfavorable and, the more so, hostile convictions solely by means of the most eloquent words, by proclaiming lofty ideological principles. It is true that socialism has many accomplishments in its favor. But no thesis, no idea, can be supported long if we base its corroboration solely on facts taken from the past, if the present reality does not provide more facts of this kind. Hence also it is so important for us to create in practical everyday action additional new facts in favor of socialism and not to tolerate anyone and anything violating in practice the principles of socialist development. It is then that we shall regain and attain the insurmountable factor--the support of the working people.

1386
CSO:2600/408

CORRUPTION IN ARAD FOOD TRADE NETWORK EXPOSED, PUNISHED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by Graziela Vantu: "Embezzlement and Corruption Severely Punished"]

[Excerpts] Recently Supreme Tribunal gave a judgment in a trial which exposed cases of embezzlement and corruption occurring in the trade network in Arad which aroused the condemnation and profound indignation of public opinion in that city. Romulus Cosnean, former manager of food warehouse No 16 in Arad, implementing his own system of record-keeping, stole, on a regular basis, money representing the value of coffee, candies, salami and sausages, milk products and other goods from the unit entrusted to him for management, failing to put large amounts of money in the cashier's office of the enterprise. In addition, he deceived a number of citizens in weighing coffee and other products and he engaged in trafficking in imported articles and foreign currency. He embezzled about half a million lei from the public as a result of these activities. Marioara Morar, Petru Bettrager and Elena Moldovan, also former managers in Arad food warehouses, acted in a more or less identical manner, receiving encouragement, incentive and even monetary support from Cosnean.

In the same brief, the Supreme Tribunal sentenced four former workers in an Arad warehouse for imported products. Alone or together with Octavian Macra, Pavel Fulpesi stole from the warehouse he manages some coffee which he sold to Elena Moldovan, Marioara Morar and Petru Brettrager to sell as "expresso" coffee to citizens so that they could pocket the money resulting from the price difference.

In the same trial, sentences were given to Mihail Visinescu, Mircea Lipovan and Ilie Silviu Oprin who had been, until recently, the chief accountant, the director of the trade enterprise for food products in Arad and the director of the county trade directorate, respectively. Under the protection of these corrupt chiefs, the embezzlers in the Arad trade network were able to take, at will, money and goods from the warehouses. The three were protectors and encouragers of this dishonest activity, for which they received bribes of large amounts of money and valuable goods. By warning the embezzlers of upcoming inventories and suggesting how they could cover up their thefts, Mihail Visinescu, the former chief accountant, received 18,000 lei from Marioara Morar, 12,000 lei from Romulus Cosnean, and 13,000 lei from Elena

Moldovan, plus tens and tens of thousands of lei--"gifts" from other chiefs in the Arad trade units, with the total amounting to 124,500 lei, money stolen from the public and transformed into a bribe by means of which a former chief accountant "sold" his good will.

Working for more than 3 years as director of the trade enterprise for food products, Mircea Lipovan was bribed by a group of dishonest people under his supervision and given the sum of 353,450 lei, to promote one of them and to give goods on a preferential basis, to another employee who wanted to increase the amount of money he embezzled. He was also bribed to give advice to one of the three in regard to perfecting the technique of dishonesty. More than 25 heads of food units in Arad paid the corrupt director a type of tithe, ranging from 5,000 to 26,000 lei. Ilie Silviu Oprin, the director of the county trade directorate, received money and goods for overlooking the illicit activity of his subordinate, Mircea Lipovan, the corrupt director. He also received money and goods from the dishonest employees "for protecting them from harm"--as one of them put it during the trial. The money, a color TV, a freezer, clothing, liquor and other items amounted to 165,000 lei.

For their serious dishonest actions, for the acts of embezzlement, and corruption which have resulted in great monetary and moral damage to trade, representing a real attack on the integrity of the commercial patrimony in Arad Municipality, the infractors were given the following prison sentences: Romulus Cosnea--20 years; Marioara Morar and Petru Brettrange--17 years each; Elena Moldovan--13 years; Mircea Lipovan--10 years; Ilie Silviu Oprin--8 years; Mihail Visinescu--5 years; Octavian Macra--6 years; Pavel Fulpesi--3 years.

CSO: 2700/103

ROMANIA

MEMBERS OF STATE QUALITY CONTROL INSPECTORATE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 88, 7 Nov 83 pp 1-4

[Decision of the Council of State for Approval of the Composition of the Leading Council of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control and of Its Executive Bureau]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decides:

Article 1. The composition of the Leading Council of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control and of its executive bureau, provided in the Appendix, which is an integral part of this decision, is approved.

Article 2. Decision No 3/1978 of the Council of State for approval of the composition of the Leading Council of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control and of its executive bureau is repealed.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 3 November 1983.
No 2.

Appendix

Composition of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control and of Its Executive Bureau

I. Leading Council of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control

Chairman

i. Gheorghe Vasile Costea state inspector general at the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.

Members

2. Paul Frunza deputy state inspector general at the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.

3. Stefan Papa deputy state inspector general at the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
4. Ion Calinescu first deputy chairman of the Commission for Economic, Professional Affairs and Worker Self-Management of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania.
5. Neculai Barbalata chief inspector at the Inspection for Heavy and Chemical Industry Product Quality Control in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
6. Silviu Basca chief inspector at the Brasov County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
7. Tudor Baron prorector at the Academy of Economic Studies.
8. Eleonora Barb senior inspector at the National Council for Science and Technology.
9. Ana Bajenaru representative of working people of the Bucharest Furniture Fabric Enterprise, Technical Quality Control inspector.
10. Constantin Bila prorector at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute.
11. Viorel Bercea representative of working people of the Tirgu Mures Woodworking Enterprise, senior foreman.
12. Petrache Buzoianu chief inspector at the State Metrology Inspection of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
13. Gheorghe Bustean representative of working people of the Rovinari Enterprise for Electric Power Stations, welder.
14. Ilie Carabulea representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry -- Food Industry Department, director at the Technology, Investment and Machine-Energy Directorate.
15. Savu Comlosan chief inspector at the Timis County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
16. Ion Costache deputy chief inspector at the Consumer Goods Quality Control Inspection of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 17. Terezia Dobai | representative of working people of units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, inspector at the Mures County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 18. Dezideriu Tiberiu Domotor | representative of working people of units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, inspector at the Bihor County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 19. Cornelia Dragan | representative of the Ministry of Wood Industry and Construction Materials, deputy director at the Technology and Machine-Energy Directorate. |
| 20. Romulus Dumitriu | chief inspector at the Dolj County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 21. Dan Gereanu | chief metrologist at the Brasov Truck Enterprise. |
| 22. Nicolae Gheorghiu | consultant professor at the Faculty of Energetics of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute. |
| 23. Ioan Hasegan | chief inspector at the Cluj County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 24. Stelian Zoe Ioan | inspector general at the Heavy and Chemical Industry Product Quality Control Inspection of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 25. Varvara Ionescu | representative of working people of Bucharest Pastry and Refreshment Enterprise, laboratory technician. |
| 26. Gheorghe Ionita | representative of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, director at the Technical Directorate. |
| 27. Ioan Iscrulescu | director at the Bucharest National Metrology Institute. |
| 28. Maria Cleonida Jilaveanu | representative of working people of units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, inspector at the Bucharest Municipality Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 29. Nicolae Simion Lasca | laboratory head at the Bucharest Metallurgical Research Institute. |
| 30. Ioan Lungu | representative of the Ministry of Light Industry, director at the Technical Directorate. |

31. Constantin Lupulescu representative of working people of the Lupeni Mining Enterprise, miner, deputy head sector 4.
32. Sofia Luta representative of working people of the Borzesti Petrochemical Combine, laboratory technician.
33. Iosivoni Cristian chief inspector at the Bucharest Municipality Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
34. Ioan Nan chief inspector at Consumer Goods Quality Inspection of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
35. Silvia Mioara Neagoe Technical Quality Control chief engineer at the Pipera-Bucharest Wood Industry Combine.
36. Ana Neamtu representative of working people of the Dolj Meat Packing Enterprise, foreman.
37. Serban Teodorescu representative of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, director at the Technical Directorate.
38. Ion Potoceanu representative of the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, director at the Technical Directorate.
39. Savastian Pintilie deputy chief inspector at the Product Quality Control Inspection for the heavy and chemical industries in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
40. Gheorghe Preda representative of working people of the Bucharest "23 August" Enterprise, foreman.
41. Elena Ripea representative of working people of units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, inspector at the Prahova County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
42. Ion Sandor representative of working people of the Bucharest "Flacara Rosie" Leather and Footwear Enterprise, Technical Quality Control office head -- laboratory.
43. Liliana Popovici deputy chief inspector at the Constanta County Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
44. Valeriu Scripat representative of the Ministry of Mines, deputy director at the Technology and Machine-Energy Directorate.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 45. Valeriu Soare | representative of the Ministry of Petroleum, deputy director at the Directorate for Technology and Investments. |
| 46. Valerius Stanciu | representative of the Ministry of Machine Tool Industry, Electrical Engineering and Electronics, director at the Technical Directorate. |
| 47. Catinca Stefan | representative of working people of the Galati Metallurgical Combine, laboratory technician. |
| 48. Dumitru Tanu | representative of working people of the Galati Metallurgical Combine, foreman. |
| 49. Marin Udrea | deputy state secretary at the Council for Coordination of Consumer Goods Production. |
| 50. Emiliana Mira Irina Ursianu | representative of working people of units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, research worker at the Bucharest National Metrology Institute. |
| 51. Maria Vasile | secretary of the party organization in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, department chief for planning, financing, organization, control, personnel and education. |

II. Executive Bureau of the Leading Council of the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control

Chairman

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 1. Gheorghe Vasile Costea | state inspector general at the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
|---------------------------|--|

Members

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| 2. Paul Frunza | deputy state inspector general at the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 3. Stefan Papa | deputy state inspector general at the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control. |
| 4. Ion Calinescu | first deputy chairman of the Commission for Economic, Professional Affairs and Worker Self-Management of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania. |

5. Neculai Barbalata chief inspector at the Product Quality Control Inspection for the heavy and chemical industries in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
6. Petrache Buzoianu chief inspector at the State Metrology Inspection in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control
7. Ion Costache deputy chief inspector at the Consumer Goods Quality Control Inspection in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
8. Iosivoni Cristian chief inspector at the Bucharest Municipality Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
9. Ioan Iscrulescu director at the Bucharest National Metrology Institute.
10. Ioan Nan chief inspector at the Consumer Goods Quality Control Inspection in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
11. Savastian Pintilie deputy chief inspector at the Product Quality Control Inspection for the heavy and chemical industries in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control.
12. Emiliană Mira Irina Ursianu representative of working people of units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, research worker at the Bucharest National Metrology Institute.
13. Maria Vasile secretary of the party organization in the General State Inspectorate for Product Quality Control, department chief for planning, financing, organization, control, personnel and education.

11710
Cso: 2700/92

END